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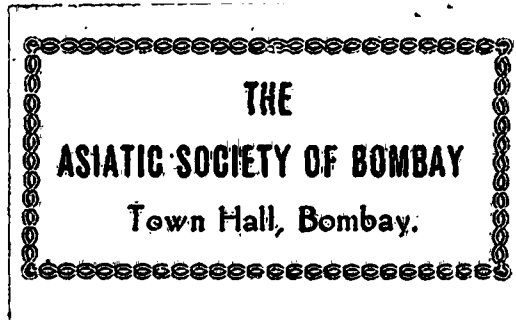

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ROBERT DEVEREUX, SECOND EARL OF ESSEX.

1567 – 1601.

From the Original of Hilliard in the Collection of the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1850.

LIVES AND LETTERS

OF THE

DEVEREUX, EARLS OF ESSEX,

IN THE REIGNS OF

ELIZABETH, JAMES I., AND CHARLES I.

1540—1646.

2273

24326

BY THE HONORABLE

WALTER BOURCHIER DEVEREUX,

CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

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LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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ERRATA IN VOL. II.

Page 32. line 25. for "from whence," read "and thence."
33. line 22. "from whence," dele "from."
69. line 7. "from whence," dele "from."
128. last line for "vengeful woman," read "vindictive woman."

LIVES AND LETTERS

OF THE

DEVEREUX, EARLS OF ESSEX.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

DIFFICULTY ABOUT THE APPOINTMENT OF A LORD LIEUTENANT.—BACON'S ADVICE TO ESSEX, TO INTEREST HIMSELF IN IRISH MATTERS.—DISLIKE OF ESSEX TO THE SERVICE.—HIS APPOINTMENT.—INSTRUCTIONS.—COMMISSION.—DEPARTURE.—HIS DETENTION AT HELBRY.—HIS ARRIVAL AT DUBLIN.—COUNCIL ADVISE DELAY.—MUNSTER AND LEINSTER JOURNEY.—HIS LETTERS.—HE ADVANCES TO ASKEATON, AND RETURNS BY WATERFORD.—HIS ABLE LETTER TO THE QUEEN ON THE STATE OF IRELAND, AND MODE OF MANAGING AN IRISH WAR.

THE defeat of the royal forces under Sir H. Bagenall, by the rebels led by the Earl of Tyrone, near the Blackwater, has been mentioned. In order to crush this rebellion, rendered doubly formidable by such unwonted success, it was resolved to send to Ireland a greater force than had ever yet been engaged in

that country. A difficulty arose in the nomination of a commander.

Camden, whose authority has been received unquestioned by every subsequent writer, has stated that Lord Mountjoy was nominated; that his appointment was opposed by Essex, on the ground that he was not sufficiently experienced in the conduct of warlike affairs; that his fortune and connections were not sufficiently great; and that he was too much devoted to study; that every body perceived Essex meant to point at himself as the only fit person: and upon his enemies becoming aware of this, they conspired with alacrity to obtain his appointment; thus, while they gratified his ambition, obtaining for themselves a clear field at court.

Francis Bacon, whose intimate friendship with the Earl had decayed since the summer of 1597, when Essex had made ineffectual efforts to further the interests of Bacon in his suit to the rich widow, Lady Hatton, and who probably had contemplated, and was prepared to execute, when occasion should offer, that base desertion of his generous and unsuspecting friend, which has cast a shade of infamy on his memory, that not all the reverence felt for his splendid intellect, nor all his great services to mankind, have ever been able to remove: in an apology for his conduct which he thought it necessary to write in the following reign to the Earl of Devonshire, declares, that he did not only dissuade, but most vehemently protest against, the Earl's going to Ireland, foreseeing his overthrow in that journey;

but that though the ear of Essex was open, his heart was shut against advice.

Now, presumptuous as it may seem, I not only mean to attempt to show, that neither of these great authorities is to be trusted in this case, but I believe that I shall be able to prove my assertion, that the Earl of Essex had, from the first, a very strong aversion to the service, and accepted the office of Deputy most unwillingly. It must be recollected that Bacon wrote as his own advocate, in a cause which the general detestation of his conduct even then shown, required him to explain if possible, and that his letters to Essex, by means of which we intend to refute him, were not published to the world.

With respect to Camden, I shall produce a series of letters from Essex to various persons, both previous to his going over, and from Ireland, all demonstrative of the most marked dislike to his employment. That he may have objected to the nomination of Mountjoy is highly probable, for the same reason that he had before opposed that of Sir William Knollys, that he was one of his very few true friends, who had access and influence at Court: there was another possible influence, the unwillingness of Lady Rich to part with her lover.

I will first dispose of Francis Bacon. While Sir Robert Cecyll was in France, he had written to the Earl of Essex urging his attention to Irish matters, as "one of the aptest particulars that can come upon "the stage, for your Lordship to purchase honor

"upon,"[1] and for three reasons; that it was ingenerate in his house in consequence of his noble father's attempts; that of all state affairs, that was at present the most important; and that he would induce a comparison between those who set it out of frame, and those who bring it into frame, greatly to the honour of the last. There were two ways by which he could obtain that honour; employing persons named by himself, or himself undertaking the care of the matter. He ends by urging him to seize the advantage of the time of Mr. Secretary's absence, to put his sickle to other men's harvests.

It might have suited the principles of Mr. Francis Bacon to think lightly of the promise given by Essex to do nothing during the absence of Cecyll damaging to his interests; not so with the Earl; we need scarcely say this advice was not followed.

After Essex was appointed, or at least nominated, for the government of Ireland, Francis Bacon wrote him another letter. He says, "Your Lordship is "designed to a service of great merit and great "peril; and as the greatness of the merit must "needs include no small consequence of peril, if "it be not temperately governed; so all immoderate "success extinguisheth merit, and stirreth up dis-"taste and envy, the assured forerunner of whole "changes of peril. But I am at the last point first, "some good spirit leading my pen to presage your "Lordship's success." Again, "You embrace that

[1] Bacon's works, xii. 15.

" condition which many noble spirits have accepted " for advantage, which is, that you go upon the " greater peril of your fortune, and the loss of your " reputation; and so the honor countervaileth the " adventure; of which honor your Lordship is in " no small possession, when that Her Majesty, known " to be one of the most judicious princes in discerning " of spirits, that ever governed, hath made choice of " you merely out of her royal judgment, her affection " inclining rather to continue your attendance, into " whose hands and trust to put the commandment " and conduct of so great charge, the execution of " so many counsels, the redeeming the faults of so " many former governors, and the clearing the glory " of so many years happy reign, only in this part " excepted." He then reminds the Earl that " merit " is worthier than fame, obedience is better than " sacrifice. For designing to fame and glory may " make your Lordship, in the adventure of your " person, to be valiant as a private soldier, rather " than as a general; it may make you in your " commandments rather to be gracious than disci- " plinary; it may make you press action, in respect " of the great expectations conceived, rather hastily " than seasonably and safely; it may make you seek " rather to achieve the war by force, than by mixture " of practice; it may make you, if God shall send " you prosperous beginnings, rather seek the fruition " of the honor, than the perfection of the work in " hand."[1]

[1] Bacon's works, xii. 20.

So far from vehement protestation against the service in Ireland, it appears that the whole scope of Bacon's letters was to induce the unwilling Essex to take a more favourable view of it, and, in all respects, an encouragement to turn his mind that way. The probable solution is, that the adverse party in the Queen's Council, who could always command a majority against Essex, took hold of his incautious objections to the persons named to force upon him the office of Deputy, and persuaded the Queen to sanction it. During each of his absences in the Cadiz and Island voyages, they had been enabled to loosen his hold on the Queen's affections: a bitter quarrel, followed by a cold reconciliation, gave them reason now to hope that, during another absence, especially if he did not succeed, as no man had yet, in pacifying unhappy Ireland, they might succeed in completely unseating him.

We must now refer to our good gossip, Mr. Chamberlain, whose letters will place us completely *au courant* of events at Court.

20*th October*, 1598.—No Lord Treasurer is appointed, the voice ran all this week Sir John Fortescue was to have it; now Lord Buckhurst is come about again. The next new councillors, it is thought, shall be Lord Mountjoy and Lord Chief Justice, who hath played vex of late among whores and bawds, and persecutes poor pretty wenches out of all pity and mercy. The Court of Wards sits not for want of a Master, and though the Earl of Essex be alone in election, there is still some rub in his way. Some say the Queen means to dissolve that Court, and, instead thereof, to

raise yearly contributions out of all lands *in capite*, or knight's service, which would be more for her profit, and less grievance to the subject; but this is too good to be true: others say he may have it if he will; but because there is a course spoken of, somewhat to geld and curtail it, he refuseth to accept it unless he may have it whole and unmaimed; and others say he finds some scruple in the strictness of the oath, and wonders how the late Lord Treasurer could dispense so easily and so largely with it and his conscience; but this were somewhat too pure and maidenlike, or rather *inutilis verecundia.* The state of Ireland grows deeply *di mal in peggio.* Some think the Lord Mountjoy shall be sent thither Deputy; others say the Earl of Essex means to take it upon him, and hopes by his countenance to quiet that country. Marry! he would have it under the broad seal of England, that after a year he might return when he will.

This demand of unusual conditions which is ascribed to Essex, and probably with truth, tends to corroborate the opinion of his disinclination to go to Ireland, for had the objections lain on the other side he never would have thrown such difficulties in the way.

8th November.—It is generally held that the Earl of Essex shall go to Ireland towards the spring, and Lord Mountjoy as his Deputy, with divers other young lords and noblemen, and that he shall be accompanied with the most part of those knights that be his creatures; for it is thought fit that they should not come so easily by their honour, but that in this case, as in many others, it should be granted for service done and to be done.

8th December.—The Earl of Essex's journey to Ireland is neither fast nor loose, but holds still in suspense by reason the proportions are daily dipt and diminished. For eight or

ten days the soldiers flocked about him, and every man hoped to be a colonel at the least. The Lord Buckhurst is full cry to be Lord Treasurer; some say the Queen will give it to some mean man, who shall execute the place to her best advantage. Some say the Earl should have 6000*l.* yearly out of it; others, that he should have 20,000*l.* to help pay his debts, and so loose his hold, but we see neither come on very fast. He kept a kind of Marshal's Court to hear arguments on the title of Nevile to be Lord of Abergavenny, and Sir Henry Leonard to be Lord Dacre of the South.

20*th December.*—The matters of Ireland stand at a stay, or rather go backward; for the Earl of Essex's journey that was in suspense is now, they say, quite dashed. From Friday 15th to Sunday 17th it held fast and firm that the Earl of Essex was to go, and all things were accordingly settled and set down; but a sudden alteration came on Sunday night, the reason whereof is yet kept secret; some say the Queen had promised to forgive him 12,000*l.* debt due by his father, and 20,000*l.* he owed her himself for cochenilla since his last journey, which belike was mistaken; for the Queen says she meant but the forbearing of it, and that it should not be called for in his absence; but whether it were this or some other matter, all is turned upside down, and he and Mr. Secretary have so good leisure that they ply the tables hard in the presence-chamber, and play so round a game as if Ireland were to be recovered at Irish.

3*rd January,* 1599.—The wind is come about again for Ireland, and the disgust that made stay of the Earl's going for awhile, is sweetened and removed.

17*th January.*—The Queen on Twelfth-day, to close up the holidays, and do the Danish ambassador honor, danced with the Earl of Essex, very richly and freshly attired. Since then fell out great unkindness betwixt the Earl and the Lord Admiral, about Sir Wm. Woodhouse. The Earl's

going to Ireland deferred from February to March. He shall carry a great troop of gallants with him, if all go that are spoken of, as the Earls of Derby[1], Rutland, Southampton, Lords Windsor, Grey, Audley, and Cromwell, who stands to be Lord Marshal; besides knights sans number, whereof Sir Ferdinando Gorges is named to be Serjeant Major, Sir Henry Davers[2] the leading of 300 horse, Sir Chas. Davers, Sir Chas. Blunt, Sir Thos. Egerton, Sir Thos. Germaine, Sir Alex. Ratcliffe, and I know not how many more to be colonels; and yet Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Edward Wingfield, and ten or twelve others of that standing, look to be served too. Many that wish well to the journey have no great conceit of it, so many raw youths press for the greatest charges.

1st March.—My Lord of Essex, much crossed, does not succeed; new difficulties arise daily about his commission, as touching the time of his abode, his entertainment, and disposing of offices; his Lordship so dissatisfied, that it is doubtful whether he will go; the treatise of Henry IV.[3] is

[1] William Stanley, sixth Earl, born, 1562; K. G.; died, 1594.

[2] Sir H. Davers or Danvers, second son of Sir J. D. of Dantsey, Wilts; by a daughter of Neville, Lord Latimer, created by Charles I. Earl of Danby, K. G.; ob. s. p. at Cornbury, 1643. Sir Charles, who was executed for his share in the Essex insurrection, was the elder brother of Sir Henry.

[3] This refers to a book written by one Hayward, which containing a history of the deposition of Richard II., gave great offence: it was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, with expressions of esteem and respect. Hayward was imprisoned. Elizabeth consulted Francis Bacon whether the offence did not constitute treason. This was rather too much even for his pliant spirit: he said, he could not discover treason, but could prove the author to have been guilty of felony. "How?" asked Elizabeth. "Madam, I can shew that he has stolen very many texts from other authors, and transplanted them into his book as his own." She then doubted whether Hayward was the author, and proposed to put him to the torture to force him to reveal. "Nay, Madam," said Bacon, "he is a doctor;" never rack his person, but rack his style; let him have pens, ink, and paper, with help of books, and continue the story where it breaketh off; I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge whether he be the author or not."

reasonably well written, the author a young man of Cambridge, toward the civil law,—much descanting about it, why such a story should come out at this time,—many exceptions taken to the epistle, which is a short thing in Latin dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and objected to him in good earnest; whereon it was ordered to be cut out. I have got you a transcript that you may pick out the offence if you can; for my part, I can pick out no such buggeswords, but that every thing is as it is taken.

Thus it would appear that Essex threw all sorts of difficulties in the way of his going to Ireland; yet, so anxious were his enemies, and perhaps the Queen, to be relieved from his presence at Court, that ultimately all were smoothed with a great show of liberality to him, in pardoning his father's debt and his own to the Crown.

The copy of the letters passed under the great seal[1], shows us that this vaunted liberality did not much exceed the sum of 300*l.*

6th March, 1599, XLI Eliz.

Letters passed under the Great Seal, pardoning the Earl of Essex, Debts due to Her Majesty by his Father, the late Earl Walter, and himself.

		£	s.	d.
First owing by the said Earl Robert to Sir Horatio Pallavicino, by three several obligations; all which H. M. undertook to pay, and thereof acquitted him - -		1000	0	0
Debts of his father in Ireland.	One bond of 600*l.*, dated 14th May, anno xviii., acknowledged by Walter, late Earl, for payment of - - - -	500	0	0
	One other bond of the like penalty and date	500	0	0
	Five other bonds of the same date, every of them, 1200*l.* to a piece, for the payment of 1000*l.* in each of them, all acknowledged - - - - -	5000	0	0

[1] S. P. O.

Debts of his father in Ireland.	Also by the same Earl, owing for munition had out of H. M. Tower - -	195	16	8
	Also, owing by the said late Earl, on the account of Sir Henry Wallop, of the wars in Ireland, ended A.D. 1591 - -	1013	7	7
	Also, owing by him for a subsidy granted anno xviii., taxed at - - -	53	6	8
Timber.	Also owing by the now Earl, for timber by him taken upon the land of the late Francis Englefield, Knt., attainted of treason, as by certificate made 8th Nov. anno xxx. appeareth - - - - -	838	6	8
Rent of fee farms.	Also by him for rent of the fee farms of the manor of Ross-foreign in Com. Hereford, taken at 28*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* per annum, due by seven years - -	172	19	7
Court of wards.	Three obligations of 200*l.* a piece, acknowledged by him and others, for the payment of——, dated 24th Oct. anno xxix. - - - -	300	0	0
Timber.	One obligation of 3000*l.*, dated 28th Jan. anno xxxvii. for certain timber afterwards valued at -	406	13	4
		9980	10	6
From Her Highness.	Surplusage due to the late Earl, upon account finished of the affairs of Ireland - -	9621	16	4
		£358	14	2

If Her Majesty's liberality did not shine brightly in a pecuniary light, she made up for it by the ample powers given to Essex in his instructions, of which we give a precise abstract, because we shall hereafter find great blame laid upon him for having exercised the authority given him.

"*Instructions for our right trusty and right well* "*beloved cousin and councillor, Robert Earl of Essex,* "*Lord Marshal of England, Lieutenant and Governor* "*General of Ireland. Given at Richmond, the 25th* "*day of March,* 1599."[1]

His dislike to the service is almost acknowledged in the preamble, which runs: "Whosoever we shall

[1] S. P. O.

" chuse thereunto, if he shall rightly descend into " the true consideration of our election, cannot but " have that great sense and feeling which so great " an honor and trust deserveth, and both resolve to " undergo the charge with comfort, and study by all " effects of diligence, faith, and wisdom to yield us " and our state timely fruits;" and then says that, " having cast her eyes on all her servants, she had " chosen him before all others, out of former ex- " perience of his faith, valor, and wisdom, and extra- " ordinary merit."

As soon as he has taken the oaths, he is to assemble the Council, and require from them a report of the state of Ireland. He is directed,

By his example and endeavor, that the army and people be instructed in the true exercise of religion, and service of God, from which they have grievously fallen away; the infection of popery is so spread over the kingdom, that many of the parishes within the English Pale have neither incumbent nor teacher, and in the great towns even massing and idolatry are winked at and tolerated.

To countenance and assist the judges.

To reform abuses in the army, of false certificates of numbers, and filling vacancies with Irishry.

To take order about the stores of provisions, and not to allow private settlers to forestal the public victualler.

To have the same care of ordnance, powder, and munition.

Having settled the establishment of 16,000 foot

and 1300 horse, to issue his warrant from time to time to the treasurer at war for the payment of the entertainment due to such establishment of numbers, " and no more—all defalcations being first deducted.

To issue his warrant to the treasurer to pay such governors of provinces, castles, and forts, pensioners, almsmen, &c., as are not included in the establishment, not to exceed 15,000*l.* per annum.

" And where we have been pleased heretofore in " divers commissions to give power and authority to " bestow the order of knighthood on such persons as " should deserve the same; and there hath been so " little moderation used in it, as many men have had " that honor done to them, who neither for birth nor " living were capable of it, nor for any extraordinary " service done by them in particular; a matter that " is no small grief and discountenance to divers of " our good servants, gentlemen of blood and value, " who are placed beneath them; we do require you " to use this power and authority in that point with " that discretion which you think we shall allow of; " and that you confer that title upon none that shall " not deserve it by some notorious service, or have " not in possession or reversion sufficient living to " maintain their degree and calling."

In using his power of granting pardons, he is not to forget the Queen's profits, and to impose fines, or reserve beeves, or a rising out of horse and foot; to bind them to keep open the dangerous passes; to use the English language and habits: he has power to grant the lands of the rebels; but, as she has reason to

think O'Doherty and Sir Arthur O'Neale are rebels of necessity rather than out of disloyalty, not to grant their possessions till Her Majesty's pleasure be known.

To reduce the large numbers of 16,000 foot and 1300 horse, to which she had yielded to make a speedy end of the war, as soon as the service will permit.

It is not unlikely that capital traitor Tyrone may, on his arrival, profess to him, as he did to the Earl of Ormonde, his desire to be received and to live as a good subject; and because he has "vilely abused our "mercy," she is in no way disposed to receive him as yet: he is only to receive him on "simple sub- "mission to our mercy." Yet, if that drive him to despair, Essex may grant him pardon for his life, provided he submit in all lowly and reverent form: but he is not to be allowed to depart without due security given that he will not return to his disloyalty; with this addition, for the "better pre- "venting of sending to and fro, by which opportunity "may be lost, whensoever you shall fall into treaty "of speech with him, and shall perceive that either "his pride or his disposition is such as he cannot be "brought to such conditions, and you shall discover "some prejudice likely to follow without the en- "larging of the measure of our grace towards him, "we give you full power and authority to take him "in on such conditions as you shall find good."

The commission appointing him Lieutenant-General and Governor-General of Ireland, authorised him to

pardon all treasons without exception; to restore traitors and rebels to their dignities and lands; to grant lands in certain parts of the country specially named; to displace martial officers not having patents; to sequester such as have patents; to make knights; to have the command of all ships on service in Ireland; to dispose of the treasure with the advice of the Council, but not to exceed the establishment, and not to grant any new pensions.

He had also a commission authorising him to carry over a body of his friends, tenants, and farmers with him, who, during their absence, were to be free from any musters or contributions; and his lands in England and Wales, in consideration of the store of victuals he took from them, were to be exempted from all purveyors and takers.[1]

Essex appointed Edward Reynolds to be his agent at the Court during his absence, who writes to him: "There are but three of the Council whose affection "I hold to be settled on you: the most just Lord "Keeper[2], the most reverend Archbishop[3], and your "Lordship's worthy uncle, Mr. Comptroller[4]; the "rest are either declared opposite or neuter." Reynolds gives it as his opinion, that unless he gets a strong party in the Council, to weaken the power of his opponents with Her Majesty, whose ears are too open to suggesting tongues, and to provide him supplies from time to time of men and money, he will find it impossible to go through the great service he has undertaken.

[1] From a docket in S. P. O.
[2] Egerton.
[3] John Whitgift, 1585—1604.
[4] Sir William Knollys.

We shall have occasion to remark on these instructions.

"On the 27th of March, about 2 o'clock in the "afternoon, Robert Earl of Essex, Viceregent of "Ireland, &c. took horse in Seething Lane[1], and "from thence, accompanied with divers noblemen "and many others, himself very plainly attired, "rode through Grace Street, Cornhill, Cheapside, "and other high streets, in all which places and in "the fields the people pressed exceedingly to behold "him, especially in the highways, for more than "four miles space, crying out, saying, 'God bless "your Lordship!' 'God preserve your Honour!' "&c.; and some followed him till the evening. "When he and his company came forth of London, "the sky was very calm and clear; but before he "could get past Iseldon[2] there arose a great black "cloud in the N.E., and suddenly came thunder and "lightning, with a great shower of hail and rain, "which some held an ominous prodigy."[3]

On the 1st of April he wrote two letters to the Council from Bromley. He says in the first, that "he "hears how miserable the army is in Ireland, and "therefore what he must crave from their LL. is "their favourable censure, if at his coming he studies "to cherish it, and bring it to some strength again, "rather than to put it to those travails by which it

[1] Originally Sidon Lane, runs from Great Tower Street into Crutched Friars. Sir Francis Walsingham's house was here, where Essex occasionally lodged. — See *Handbook of London.*

[2] Islington.

[3] Nicholl's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.

"would be utterly overwhelmed." The other letter is as follows.

No. I.[1]

Essex to the Council.

My very good Lords,—As your LL. by my other letter, sent by Sir Calisthenes Brooke, shall see how weak Her Majesty's army is like to be at my coming into Ireland, so by that kind of governing and directing a matter of that weight, you may judge of the strength of Her Majesty's Council there; and how it will be supplied by any that goes with me, the audit is quickly made. I did only move Her Majesty for her service to give me one strong assistant, but it is not her will. What my body and mind will suffice to, I will by God's grace discharge with industry and faith. But neither can a rheumatic body promise itself that health in a moist rotten country, nor a sad mind, vigor and quickness in a discomfortable voyage. But I sit down and waste my suit, now I know Her Majesty's resolute pleasure; only I must desire to be freed from all imputation, if the body of the army prove unwieldy, that it is so ill furnished, or so unfurnished of joints; or of any maim in the service, when I am sent out maimed before hand. I have returned Sir Christopher Blount, whom I hoped to have carried over, for I shall have no such necessary use of his hands, as, being barred the use of his head, I would carry him to his own disadvantage, and the disgrace of the place he should serve in. Hereof I thought it fit to advertise your LL., that you might rather pity me than expect extraordinary successes from me. I rest, &c.
Bromley, this Sunday morning, the 1st April. ESSEX.

No great symptoms here of the content and satisfaction of the man who has just started for the com-

[1] S. P. O.

mand he had been struggling for months to obtain, but rather the letter of one proceeding upon a service he dislikes, with most unwilling steps. We shall see, by his progress too, so different from those rapid rides between London and Plymouth, that his heart was not in it. The parish register of Tamworth contains a notice that, on the 3rd of April, Robert, Earl of Essex, went from Drayton Bassett towards Ireland. On the fifth he writes to announce his arrival at Helbry, a small island in the estuary of the river Dee. Thus he had taken eight days to perform a far shorter journey than that to Plymouth, which he accomplished between Thursday night and Saturday morning. Here was a lagging will, rather endeavouring to retard his progress towards Ireland, than to reach the scene of action.

Why Sir Christopher Blount had been objected to does not appear; but when Essex, who had intended to make him Marshal of the army, sent him back, he was found fault with. Writing from Helbry he says, "As for Sir Christopher Blount's ill success, or rather "mine for him, I fear it will be semble to all my "speed when I sue or move for anything. I sued to "Her Majesty to grant it out of favor, but I spake a "language that was not understood, or to a goddess "not at leisure to hear prayers. I since, not for my "sake, but for her service sake, desired to have it "granted; but I see, let me plead in any form, it is in "vain. I must save myself by protestation, that it is "not Tyrone and the Irish rebellion that amazeth "me, but to see myself sent of such an errand, at such

" a time, with so little comfort or ability from the " Court of England to effect that I go about. But " *video, taceo.* I will commit you to God, and rest " " ready to requite all good offices that are done me. " From aboard the Popinjay, thwart of Helbry. " Essex."

Sir Christopher Blount, although an intriguing and turbulent character, was an experienced soldier, well fitted for the post Essex had intended him to fill; and we do not see why, unless to produce dissatisfaction, he was refused by the Queen.

The next letters are reports to the Council of his arrival at Helbry and the cause of his delay there, with a strong remonstrance in favour of Sir Christopher; and of his having, in consequence of the foul winds, thick fog, and wet weather, sent the vessels to Beaumaris, himself going post. The ride over Penman Mawr, in those days, must have been anything but easy under favourable circumstances; by night, in wet weather, I can well imagine it to be the worst way that he had ever travelled.

He was not detained much longer. On what day he sailed from Beaumaris, I do not know; he arrived at Dublin the 15th April.

No. II.[1]

Essex to the Council.

My very good Lords,—Being here at Helbry, I received a letter by Orme, my servant, signed by your LL., my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord North, and by Mr. Secretary, wherein

[1] S. P. O.

you signify Her Maj. mislike of my sending back Sir Christopher Blount, since I find so great lack of one in his room; and that Her Maj. hath heretofore signified how much she thought him to blame to forget her favor for thinking him fit to be Marshal of her army. First, for mine own excuse, I did find a lack, and so shall, of going to manage a difficult war, and to govern an undisciplined dissolute army, and to consult with a Council to whom Her Majesty imputeth the loss almost of a kingdom. I have not one able assistant; I do not say to execute my directions, for that I shall find many able for, but to consult with what is to be directed; to debate and dispute the doubtful and knotty questions, how the war is to be managed, and to command where I am not; and, lastly, to keep all things in order whiles I repose myself, which all men must of necessity do. In all which, under correction, he can be no strong assistant to me, being excluded from the Council; for how can I have power to confer privately with him, or relate to him what passeth in council, when all the day, though I allow myself never so little time to eat and sleep, will be too short to hear the multitude of those that will come for direction, and to satisfy them as the service will require; or, had I time, what will it avail me to hear him speak privately, when, if he concur with the rest, his opinion is needless; if he dissent, it is bootless? For I must rather trust a sworn councillor of Her Maj. than any other that wanteth both that grace and her favor also. As for his ability to command, chiefly with that respect of the army which is due to a Marshal, there is no hope of it; for, first, the whole army will take notice that he wanteth that grace which all his predecessors have had; and next, those which are now councillors, and yet, in the army, are to be commanded by the Marshal, will not so submit themselves to his commandment as they ought to do. For these reasons, I thought to have taken upon me both offices, whiles I could

have lasted, though I moved him by whose hand I received Her Maj. denial of my humble motion, to solicit Her Maj. and your LL., that my successor might quickly be sent after me; for he that shall do two such offices, and discharge them as he ought, should not value his life at many months purchase. These were my reasons, which moved me to return Sir Christopher Blount, whom I must free from any knowledge of Her Maj. will to have him go in any sort; for, as Her Maj. may remember, I did protest to herself that I was not only unable to carry him on my own credit, but tied by my word and protestation not to urge or move him to go. So that, until this despatch came by my servant, I never brake with him, but, as all men that were with me know, I made full account that he went not; only the want of shipping at Chester for my horsemen, and the resolution to take the first opportunity for mine own passing over, made me entreat him to lie three or four days at Chester after me, to see the troops orderly governed, whiles they stayed, and speedily sent after me. But now, upon this letter which yesterday I received, I sent for him hither, and imparted to him your LL. letter; upon sight whereof he resolves to go, though utterly unprovided of all things necessary for such a journey, which obedience he humbly tenders, and protesteth, that had I sooner signified unto him the least implying of Her Maj. pleasure, he would sooner have offered himself. But, my LL., it must be all our devout prayers to God, and our humble suit to Her Maj., that she will be as well served by her vassals as obeyed; and that when He grants not the ability, she will not expect nor exact great performance. For myself, if things succeed ill in my charge, I am like to be a martyr for her; but as your LL. have many times heard me say, it had been far better for her service to have sent a man favored by her, who should not have had these crosses and discouragements which I shall ever suffer of your LL. I do

entreat that you will forget my person, and the circumstances of it, but remember that I am Her Maj. minister in the greatest cause that ever she had; that though to keep myself from scorn and misery it shall be in mine own power, yet to enable me to reduce that rebellious kingdom of Ireland to obedience lies in Her Maj.; for if I have not inward comfort, and outward demonstration of Her Maj. favor, I am defeated in England; and so I commit your LL. to God's best protection, and rest, &c.

Helbry, the 5th April, 1599. ESSEX.

No. III.[1]

Essex to the Council.

My very good Lords,—My last was written from Mostyn, over against Helbry, in which place I rested all Easter Sunday; not that I would not have thought it a sabbath day's work to have plied towards Ireland, but that the wind was so contrary, and the mists so great, that all the pilots of Christendom could not tell how to carry a ship out of the river. On Monday I, seeing the wind still hang contrary, agreed with the captains of Her Maj. pinnaces that they should, if it did not overblow, tide up to Beaumaris, and that myself would meet them there. To which resolution I was forced, because we were so pestered aboard, that lying still at sea, with a contrary wind and wet weather, would have cast us all down. At Aberconway I was by sunset, when the wind came fair, so that I feared lest the ships should have been before me, and in regard thereof took post-horses, and came over the mountains, the worst way and in the extremest wet that I have endured. I arrived in this town in the dead of the night, but the ships came not till this morning at ten of the clock.

All this day the wind continues at north and to the west-

[1] S. P. O.

ward, with which wind we cannot seize Dublin. I will, to-morrow morning at full sea, ply towards Ireland if the weather will permit, for by two despatches which I have received, I find it more than time I were there. The one of them shews the misery of the army, which is to be sustained for this week only with all the means they have or can think on. The other is the drawing of the troops into idle, miserable journies, whereby I shall find them weak and unserviceable when I come. The soldiers there already fall sick, and if they be not fully supplied with all things necessary, Her Maj. must make account that all those great preparations will vanish into smoke, and the charge thereof be utterly lost.

After some remarks respecting the victualling, paying, and recruiting the army, he concludes,

Your LL. will yourselves pardon me, and in your honorable justice be my advocates with Her Maj., if I still write in this kind of style. It is natural to my office to have cause to speak this language. I had a natural antipathy against this service, because I foresaw those necessities, and knew how unpleasing they would be, not only to me the propounder, but much more to Her Maj. the hearer of them. But *jacta est alia;* I have the best warrant that ever man had, and I go in the best cause. Compassion I myself shall not greatly need, for whatsoever the success may be, yet I shall be sure of a fair destiny. Only Her Maj. and your LL. must and will, I doubt not, pity Ireland, and pity the army under my charge, lest if you suffer your men in an out ravelin to be lost, you be hardly afterwards able to defend the rampier.

I must again crave pardon for this free kind of style, which duty and zeal hath drawn from me. And to God's best protection I commit your LL., and rest, &c.

From Beaumaris, 11th April, 1599.

The Earl of Essex arrived at Dublin on the 15th April, "after as rough and dangerous a passage as "had been known at that time of the year." The same day he was sworn in, and received the sword: and immediately called on the Council to report to him the state of the country. On the 28th April[1], a letter was written to the Privy Council, signed by the Lord Lieutenant and his Council, in which it is stated that Essex was desirous to march against the rebels, but was detained by the advice of the Council, whose reasons for giving such advice are detailed.

The Privy Council, in their reply, dated the 8th May, express their approval of these reasons for deferring operations in the field.

This very delay was subsequently made the ground for one of the gravest charges against the Earl of Essex: some extracts are therefore given from the above letter, which will afford a contrast to one written by the same Council, and signed by a majority of the same members in November, denying that they had so advised Essex. "We have had frequent con-"sultations in what sort Her Majesty's army might "be best employed against those overgrown rebels; "whereon, upon a proposition made by me, the Lieu-"tenant, to have the archtraitor Tyrone presently set "upon in Ulster, and many difficulties and impedi-"ments thoroughly debated to forbear that expedition "for a time, it was at last resolved, that albeit those "monstrous treasons took their first root there, and

[1] S. P. O.

" from thence have poisoned all the other provinces " of the realm, and therefore requisite to have a main " blow stricken at this root. the sooner to shake and " scourge all the branches that are grown out of it; " yet for the difficulties, or rather impossibilities, oc- " curring in the deliberation of this point, we of the " Council having delivered our reasons and observa- " tions, and weighing the inconveniences and dangers " that might ensue, if the Lieutenant's proposition " should be presently performed, did advise his Lord- " ship that it was more expedient for Her Majesty's " service, that the invasion of Ulster should be for a " time respited, and a present prosecution put on " first in Leinster, being the heart of the whole " kingdom."

The reasons given why it was not possible at that time to go into Ulster were, that there was no grass or forage, nor would there be any until the summer was further advanced; that a sufficient number of beeves could not be procured, and those few that might be obtained at that season were so lean and weak, that they could not be driven, and were hardly fit for food; that not half the number of draught horses, necessary to carry dry provisions for the army could be obtained in the country, and the proportion to be sent from England had not arrived; and it would not be possible to raise the number of garrons before the time of the general hosting. That, considering all these difficulties, it was thought good, " by universal consent in council," to forbear for a while the Ulster enterprize. This letter is signed

by Essex, Ad. Dublin, Canc.; Thomas Midensis[1], George Carew, Robert Gardener, Nicholas Walshe, Conyers Clifford, George Bourchier, Henry Harrington, Warham St. Leger, Geff. Fenton.

On Wednesday the 10th May, the Lord Lieutenant set out from Dublin, want of carriages for his provisions having delayed his departure till that time. The troops appointed for this expedition, consisting of 3000 foot, and 300 horse, rendezvous'd in the plain between the town and bridge of Kilkullin, about five miles from Naas, where his Lordship joined them. The next day they marched to Tallacoury, where the Earl of Ormonde joined with 700 foot, and well nigh 200 Irish horse. The Lords Mountgarret and Cahir accompanying him to make their submission and ask pardon, were committed to the custody of the Provost Marshal. Continuing their march, the van-guard took that part of Athy which lies on the south bank of the Barrow, while the main body forded the river a mile below, in order to attack the castle on both sides at once: but as soon as the passage of the river was effected, James Fitz Pierce, who held the castle, delivered it and himself into the Queen's hands.

Essex remained at Athy the 13th and 14th to repair the bridge, and enable the provisions and ammunition left at Naas to come up. Leaving a garrison of 100 men in Athy, four days' provisions were issued to every man to carry on his back; and 350 men

[1] Bishop of Meath.

being detached to Carlow, and 750 under Sir Edward Herbert to Ophaly, on the 15th Essex with the main body marched to Stradbally, through the pass of Blackford, which had been entrenched by the rebels, but which they deserted at the approach of the army. The next day, victualling and reinforcing the garrison of Maryborough, he proceeded by Ballyknockan and the park of Cashel, where he had a slight skirmish with the rebels, to Rosconnel, and from thence to Ballyraggett, the chief seat of Mountgarrett, which he found so strong that he placed a garrison there.

From that place the army marched to Clonmel, while he himself, accompanied by the Earl of Ormonde, went to Kilkenny; whence he sent for the President of Munster, Sir Thomas Norreys, to confer with him, and made arrangements for the supply of cattle and ammunition to the army.

His letter to the Council from this place shows the guerilla tactics of the rebels, and the impossibility of making any impression on them in the field with regular troops.

No. IV.[1]

Essex to the Council.

My very good Lords,—By this journal, which herewith I send, Her Maj. and your LL. may judge how, since my coming from Dublin, I have spent my time. All that I hope for is, that I shall approve myself to be no loiterer, but that I put myself to as much as I can any way suffice unto; and when God sends me greater ability, Her Maj. may

[1] S. P. O.

promise herself greater service. All that I can comment upon this plain narration is, that this war is like to exercise both our faculties that do manage it, and Her Maj. patience that must maintain it; for this people against whom we fight hath able bodies, good use of the arms they carry, boldness enough to attempt and quickness in apprehending any advantage they see offered them; whereas our new and common sort of men have neither bodies, spirits, nor practice of arms like the others. The advantage we have is in our horse, which will command all champaigns: in our order which those savages have not: and in the extraordinary courage and spirit of our men of quality. But to meet with these our helps, the rebels fight in woods and bogs where horse are utterly unserviceable; they use the advantage of lightness and swiftness in going off when they find our order too strong for them to encounter: and as for the least advantage, I protest to your LL. it doth as much trouble me as help me, for my remembering how unequal a wager it is to adventure the lives of noblemen and gentlemen against rogues and naked beggars, makes me take more care to contain our best men, than to use their courage against the rebels. And had I not in the last day's fight tethered them, and assigned them not only their places, but their very limits of going on, doubtless many of them would have been too far engaged, for I assure your LL. greater forwardness and contempt of danger could not have been shewed by any men, than was by the Lords and other principal men of quality in the army, which proved them to be such a treasure to Her Maj. as I must husband them with all the care and industry I have.

I have here met with the President of Munster, who, in conference with myself, with my L. of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council here, hath persuaded us for a few days to look into his government, where the rebels are strong and proud, and where some places of good importance are newly fortified,

which, if they were gotten, would greatly both weaken them and advance Her Maj. service; and himself professeth his own inability to attempt them, as having too strong a force to make head against him, besides the strength of the places themselves. By this journey I hope to change the affairs of Munster and Leinster, that against my return to Dublin, finding means sent out of England for my northern journey, I may with more strength and less distraction of mind follow that main service.

And so hoping that Her Maj. and your LL. will allow of my poor endeavours, which shall ever *præstare innocentiam, si non meritam,* I rest, humbly at your good LL. command-ment,

Kilkenny, this 20th May, 1599. ESSEX.
(Rec[d]. at Greenwich, 1st June.)

His next was from Clonmel, where he rejoined his army on the 21st of May, on the state of the country, from which I give some extracts.

No. V.[1]

Essex to the Council.

May it please your good Lordships,—After the writing of my other letters, the same day that I ended them, here arrived my servant H. Tracy with your LL. (letter) of the 14th of this present. To the which I would have made present answer, but that some indisposition stayed on me, and continued with me by reason of the extremity of the weather, and my two nights' ill-lodging, till I came to this town. Hither I came yesternight, and continue here all this day, both for the refreshing of the troops after their foul marches, and because I expect the coming of some victual,

[1] S. P. O.

artillery, and munition, together with eight companies which I have sent for from Waterford.

Now for answer to your LL. letters. I do humbly pray your LL. to believe, that as I did ever conceive reverently of your LL. affections to further this great service, so I take great comfort in your LL. assurance of Her Maj. sending us timely and liberal supplies, for without them all my industry, care, and hazard will be fruitless; and with them, by God's mercy, and Her Maj. gracious favor, I shall either yield Her Maj. a good account of my charge, or pay my ill success with the price of my life. I will as faithfully and carefully husband Her Maj. stores here as possibly I can, for proof whereof I protest before God, I issue of mine own poor means, an hundred pounds at a time, for the winning and enabling of fit instruments for Her Maj. service here; without which course I find it impossible to effect any great matter in this kingdom. News, I can send your LL. none but that the pretended Earl of Desmond, and all the force of the rebels of Munster are now within three miles of me, and vow and swear to fight. I hear they are some 4000 men, though they give themselves out to be of greater numbers. I have with me near 2000 foot, and at least 200 serviceable horse, and Sir Henry Norreys will reinforce me this night with 1000 foot more. So that to-morrow, if they make good their ford where they are, it shall be tried whether we be better at forcing of a passage, or they at defending it. They have consulted how to keep the castle of Cahir against me, notwithstanding that Cahir himself is in my hands. But I assure myself they dare not dispute it, since they know I have the cannon here. Yet it is accounted the strongest place in Ireland; and Cahir's wife and his brethren have been consulting with Desmond and the White Knight how to defend it; and the news of my putting garrison into Ballyraggett and all the strong places which are yielded to

Her Maj. doth so trouble them that they will do what they dare. Your LL. will pardon this hasty confused manner of writing, it being incident to one that hath many interruptions and distracted thoughts. I humbly commend your LL. to God's best protection, and rest, &c.

Clonmell, the 24th May, 1599. ESSEX.[1]

Having received the cannon and ammunition from Waterford, he next proceeded to attack the castle of Cahir. This was considered a place of great importance, as commanding the passes into Tipperary, the White Knight's country, Clanwilliam, and Muskerry. It was the chief stronghold of the rebels in those parts, situated on an island in the river Suir, whose banks were rocky, and was besides made strong by art. Although the Lord Cahir was in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, his castle was obstinately defended. The artillery of the army, consisting of one cannon and one culverin, which, for want of draught horses, had been dragged by men from Clonmel, being brought up, "a trench was cast up within fifty paces "of the castle, a platform made for the cannon, and "gabions set up and filled to cover the gunners. "The culverin was placed somewhat farther off, where "it might see more of the flanks of the castle, and so "beat down their sights. The next day, in the "morning, as soon as the watch was discharged, the "cannon and culverin began to play; but the carriage

[1] This letter is endorsed, "Received at Greenwich 1st June; his L. had now received a letter of the 14th, which was to revoke the Earl of Rutland, and another of the 16th May, which was the main despatch." Neither of these letters is in the S. P. O.

" of the former broke at the second shot, and could " not be repaired in a day and a half. The culverin " was for some time clogged up with a bullet; but " being cleared, it shot that day some fifty shots, so " that the rebels scarce durst keep in any tower, or fight " on that side." Having, on the 20th May, passed a body of men into an orchard in the island on which the castle stood, and also cut off the garrison from the opposite shore, the cannonade was continued until two breaches were opened. Arrangements were made for carrying the castle by storm the same night; but the garrison, considering the place untenable, and finding that no terms would be given by the Lord Lieutenant, attempted to make their escape by a sally, but being immediately discovered, were all, excepting a very few who escaped by swimming, put to the sword. The walls being repaired, the artillery mounted, and the castles garrisoned with 100 men, the Earl proceeded on his march.

On the last day of May, the army encamped near the abbey of Cashel, while the bridge of Colam was repaired, when it advanced to Tipperary, and on the 4th June arrived at Limerick. Hearing that the Queen's castle of Askeaton was in distress, Essex proceeded to Adare, from whence, in his march to Askeaton, he had a skirmish with the rebels under the Earl of Desmond, in which the latter were defeated, leaving 100 men on the field, while the loss on the English side was but six men killed and twenty wounded. The next day, while convoying the waggons of provisions to Askeaton, the troops were

again harassed by the fire of the rebels from a great wood on their flank. The Lord Lieutenant, who now understood the nature of Irish warfare, met them with skirmishers only until the convoy had gone by, when, calling in his men, he made a feint of withdrawing, in order to bring the rebels out of cover; his ruse succeeded, and the rebels coming on with a great cry, he ordered a general charge in front, while the horse were directed to charge along the skirt of the wood from both flanks, and having driven back the rebels with loss, he continued his march without farther annoyance.

On the 11th June they reached Kilmallock, where a council was held as to the best course to be pursued. The choice lay between three routes: by Tipperary, over the Colam bridge, the road by which they had entered the county; or through the White Knight's country, called Clangibbon, thence to Aherlow and Clonmel; or through the country of Lord Roche, and so by Conneigh, the pretended Earl of Desmond's castle, to Lismore, from whence they might either go over the mountains to Clonmel, or by Dungarvon to Waterford.

The Lord Lieutenant chose the last, and the army marched to Fermoy, while he went to the house of the President at Mallow, and sent over to Cork for a supply of ammunition.

Having rejoined the main body, he dislodged from Fermoy on the 16th June, and proceeded to Conneigh, where he intended to encamp, having some skirmishing on the way. Receiving a convoy at Castle

Lyons, the army forded the Blackwater about seven miles from Dungarvon, on the 18th and 19th. The President of Munster here took his leave, having his force strengthened by the addition of 900 foot and 100 horse, which the Lord Lieutenant left with him.

On the 21st June, Essex was encamped three miles from Waterford. Being ferried across from Passage, they proceeded towards Enniscorthy, between Waterford and which place not a rebel was to be seen. Thence to Arklow, on approaching which place they had a sharp brush with the rebel forces of the Cavanaghs, Byrnes, O'Tooles, and Mores of Leix; these were the same who had shortly before defeated Sir Henry Harrington near Wicklow, which had so encouraged them, that they engaged on the open ground.

It is to this defeat that Essex refers in his letter written from Waterford, and of which we shall hear more on his arrival at Dublin. Some of the new levies were seized with panic even under his own eye, and he had the greatest difficulty in getting them "to stand firm, to keep order, to forbear noises and "speeches of fear and amazement."

No. VI.[1]

Essex to the Council.

May it please your Lordships,— As in my former despatch, sent by Sir Francis Darcy, I shewed the causes of my looking into Munster, so by this your LL. shall be able to inform both Her Maj. and yourselves of all my courses

[1] S. P. O.

and successes in this province. I am now hastening back to Dublin, but will pass through the county of Wexford and the Ranelagh, both to give order for those parts, and to seek some revenge on those rogues who, in my absence, had the killing of our base, cowardly, and ill-guided clowns. Of which defeat, because I know your LL. are already particularly informed from the Council at Dublin, I do spare to write; but at my return I purpose, by God's grace, to do such justice as shall be for Her Maj. honor; and make other men hereafter know that the justice of a Marshal's court is no less terrible than the fury of all the rebels in this kingdom. And in my passage, if the rebels by this our disaster be so much puffed up as I hear they are, I hope, by God's favour, your LL. shall soon hear that their pride is but a purgation to their greater ruin. I am advertised that they have drawn to them, besides the forces of Donnell Spaniaghe, and the Cavanaghs, and Feagh M'Hugh's sons, and the mountain Galloglass, all the force of the Moores and Conners, and of Tyrell with his bonnaughtes: howbeit, though the companies here with me be both fewer in number and weaker in strength than any time since I went out, yet I assure your LL. I will neither be sought by them, nor go out of my way to seek the champaign, but take my course as it lies through the midst of their countries; for surely this blow cannot so much appal our base new men, as it doth inflame the hearts of our commanders and gentlemen of quality, whose forwardness I shall have no less labour to restrain, than to encourage and bring on the meaner sort. And so hoping that at my return to Dublin, I shall find such liberal supplies of men, money, and victuals, that I shall soon be provided for my journey into the North, I commend your good LL. to God's merciful protection, and rest your LL. humbly at command,

Waterford, the 22nd June. ESSEX.

On the 25th June, the Lord Lieutenant wrote a letter to the Queen on the state of the country; the prospects and the mode of reducing it to subordination. I may here remark, that the plan shadowed forth in this very able document was that by which Lord Mountjoy was enabled to reduce all the rebels of Ireland to subjection.

No. VII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

When this shall come to your Majesty's hands I know not; but whensoever it hath that honor, give it leave, I humbly beseech your Majesty, to tell you, that having now passed through the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and been upon the frontiers of Connaught, where the governor and the chief of the province were with me, I dare begin to give your Maj. some advertisement of the state of this kingdom; not as before by hearsay, but as I beheld it with mine own eyes.

The people in general have able bodies by nature, and gotten by custom ready use of arms; and, by their late successes, boldness to fight with your Majesty's troops. In their pride they value no men but themselves; in their affection they love nothing but idleness and licentiousness; in their rebellion they have no other end but to shake off the yoke of obedience to your Majesty, and to root out all remembrance of the English nation in this kingdom. I say this of the people in general; for I find not only the greater part thus affected, but that it is a general quarrel of the Irish; and they who do not profess it are either so few or so false, that there is no account to be made of them. The Irish nobility and lords of countries do not only in their

[1] Birch, ii. 415.

hearts affect this plausible quarrel, and are divided from us in religion, but have an especial quarrel to the English government, because it limiteth and tieth them, who ever have been, and ever would be, as absolute tyrants as any are under the sun. The towns being inhabited by men of the same religion and birth as the rest, are so carried away with the love of gain, that for it they will furnish the rebels with all things that may arm them or enable them, against the state or against themselves.

The wealth of the kingdom, which consisteth in cattle, oatmeal, and other victuals, is almost all in the rebels' hands, who in every province till my coming have been masters of the field. The expectation of all these rebels is very present and very confident, that Spain will either so invade your Majesty, that you shall have no leisure to prosecute them here; or so succor them, that they will get most of the towns into their hands, ere your Majesty shall relieve and reinforce your army. So that now, if your Majesty resolve to subdue these rebels by force, they are so many, and so framed to be soldiers, that the war of force will be great, costly, and long.

If your Majesty will seek to break them by factions among themselves, they are covetous and mercenary, and must be purchased; and their jesuits and practising priests must be hunted out and taken from them, which now do solder them so fast and so close together. If your Majesty will have a strong party in the Irish nobility, and make use of them, you must hide from them all purpose of establishing English government, till the strength of the Irish be so broken, that they shall see no safety but in your Majesty's protection. If your Majesty will be assured of the possession of the towns, and keep them from supplying the wants of the rebels, you must have garrisons brought into them, able to command them; and make it a capital offence for any merchant in Ireland to trade with the rebels, or buy or sell any arms or

munition whatever. For your good subjects may have for their money out of your Majesty's store, that which shall be appointed by order, and may serve for their necessary defence; whereas, if once they be tradeable, the rebels will give such extreme and excessive prices, that they can never be kept from them.

If your Majesty will secure this your realm from danger of invasion, as soon as those which direct and manage your Majesty's intelligences give notice of the preparations and readiness of the enemy, you must be as well armed, and provided for your defence; which provision consists in having forces upon the coast enrolled and trained, in having magazines of victual in your Majesty's west and northern ports ready to be transported, and in having ships both of war and transportation, which may carry and waft them both upon the first alarm of a descent. The enrolling and training of your subjects is no charge to your Majesty's own coffers. The providing of magazines will never be any loss; for, in using them, you may save a kingdom; and, if you use them not, you may have your old store sold; and, if it be well handled, to your Majesty's profit. The arming of your Majesty's ships, when you hear your enemy arms to the sea, is agreeable to your own provident and princely courses, and to the policy of all princes and states of the world.

But to return to Ireland again, as I have showed your Majesty the dangers and disadvantages which your servants and ministers here shall and do meet withal in this great work of reducing this kingdom; so I will now, as well as I can, represent to your Majesty your strengths and advantages.

First, these rebels are neither able to force any walled town, castle, nor house of strength, nor to keep any that they get; so that, while your Majesty keeps your army in strength and vigor, you are undoubtedly mistress of all

towns and holds whatsoever. By which means, if your Majesty have good ministers, all the wealth in the land shall be drawn into the hands of your subjects; your soldiers in the winter shall be carefully lodged, and readily supplied of any wants; and we that command your Majesty's forces may make the war offensive and defensive, nay, fight and be in safety, as occasion is offered.

Secondly, your Majesty's horsemen are so incomparably better than the rebels, and their foot so unwilling to fight, in battle or gross, howsoever they be desirous to skirmish or fight loose, that your Majesty may be always mistress of the champaign countries, which are the best parts of this kingdom.

Thirdly, your Majesty victualling your army out of England, and with your garrisons burning and spoiling the country in all places, shall starve the rebels in one year, because no place else can supply them.

Fourthly, since no war can be made without munition, and munition this rebel cannot have but from Spain, Scotland, or your own towns here, if your Majesty will still continue your ships and pinnaces upon the coast, and be pleased to send a printed proclamation, that, upon pain of death, no merchant, townsman, or other subject, do traffic with the rebel, or buy or sell in any sort any kind of munition or arms, I doubt not but that in a short time I shall make them bankrupt of their old store, and I hope our seamen will keep them from receiving any new.

Fifthly, your Majesty hath a rich store of gallant colonels, captains, and gentlemen of quality, whose example and execution is of more use than all the rest of your troops; whereas the men of best quality among the rebels, which are their leaders and their horsemen, dare never put themselves to any hazard, but send their kerne and their hirelings to fight with your Majesty's troops; so that, although their

common soldiers are too hard for our new men, yet they are not able to stand before such gallant men as will charge them.

Sixthly, your Majesty's commanders being advised and exercised know all advantages, and by the strength of their order will, in all great fights, beat the rebels. For they neither march, nor lodge, nor fight in order, but only by the benefit of their footmanship can come on and go off at pleasure; which makes them attend a whole day, still skirmishing, and never engaging themselves; so that it hath been ever the fault and weakness of your Majesty's leaders, whensoever you have received any blow.

Now, if it shall please your Majesty to compare your advantages and disadvantages together, you shall find, that though these rebels are more in number than your Majesty's army, and have, though I do unwillingly confess it, better bodies and perfecter use of their arms, than those men which your Majesty sends over, yet your Majesty commanding the walled towns, holds, and champaign countries, and having a brave nobility and gentry, a better discipline, and stronger order than they, and such means to keep from them the maintenance of their life, and to waste the country which should nourish them; your Majesty may promise yourself, that this action will in the end be successful, though costly, and that your victory will be certain, though many of us your honest servants must sacrifice ourselves in the quarrel; and that this kingdom will be reduced, though it will ask, besides cost, a great deal of care, industry, and time.

But why do I talk of victory or success? Is it not known that from England I receive nothing but discomforts and soul's wounds? Is it not spoken in the army, that your Majesty's favor is diverted from me, and that already you do bode ill both to me and it? Is it not believed by the rebels that

those whom you favor most, do more hate me out of faction, than them out of duty and conscience? Is it not lamented of your Majesty's faithfullest subjects, both there and here, that a Cobham or a Ralegh — I will forbear others for their places' sakes — should have such credit and favour with your Majesty when they wish the ill-success of your Majesty's most important action, the decay of your greatest strength, and the destruction of your faithfullest servants?

Yes, yes, I see both my own destiny and your Majesty's decree, and do willingly embrace the one, and obey the other. Let me honestly and zealously end a wearisome life. Let others live in deceitful and inconstant pleasures. Let me bear the brunt, and die meritoriously. Let others achieve and finish the work, and live to erect trophies. But my prayer shall be that, when my sovereign loseth me, her army may not lose courage, or this kingdom want physic, or her dearest self miss Essex, and then I can never go in a better time, nor in a fairer way. Till then, I protest before God and his angels, I am a true votary, that is sequestered from all things but my duty and my charge. I perform the uttermost of my body's, mind's, and fortune's ability; and more should, but that a constant care and labor agrees not with an inconstant health in an unwholesome and uncertain climate. This is the hand of him that did live your dearest, and will die your Majesty's faithfullest, servant.

From Arklow, the army, now reduced by the garrisons and reinforcements left behind, and by sickness, to a much less number than originally went forth, returned direct to Dublin, where they arrived one of the first days in July.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

DISPLEASURE OF THE QUEEN AT SOUTHAMPTON'S APPOINTMENT. — HIS DISCHARGE. — QUEEN EXPRESSES STRONG DISAPPROBATION OF ESSEX'S PROCEEDINGS, WHILE CECYLL, IN LETTERS TO SIR H. NEVILLE, APPROVES. — ON THE ALARM OF A SPANISH INVASION, AND PREPARATION OF ARMAMENT, ESSEX ORDERED NOT TO QUIT IRELAND. — TRIAL OF SIR H. HARRINGTON'S MEN. — DEFEAT AND DEATH OF SIR CONYERS CLIFFORD. — ROYAL LETTER OF REPROOF. — ESSEX PROCEEDS TO ULSTER TO MAKE A RECONNOISSANCE. — THE COUNCIL PROTEST AGAINST AN ATTACK ON TYRONE. — SKIRMISH. — PARLEY. — TRUCE. — ANOTHER LETTER OF DISAPPROBATION FROM THE QUEEN.

LET us now inquire, how the conduct of Essex, and his journey into Munster, were received at Court.

To explain the next letters, it is necessary to state, that the Earl of Southampton, who, in consequence of his marriage, already related, fell into the deepest disgrace, was appointed by Essex General of the Horse in Ireland, which caused the following correspondence.

No. VIII.[1]

The Lords of the Council to Essex.

Her Majesty having of late received certain knowledge that your L. hath constituted the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse in Her Maj. army under your charge,

[1] S. P. O.

with which she is much displeased, hath given us commandment to signify her mind in that behalf, and to let your L. understand that she thinketh strange, and taketh it offensively, that you would appoint his L. to that place and office, considering that Her Maj. did not only deny it, when she was here moved by your L. to that purpose, but gave you an express prohibition to the contrary, that he should not be appointed thereunto. This commandment being by Her Maj. so precisely delivered unto you, and the same being now so publicly manifested to the world to be broken, hath moved Her Maj. to great offence in that respect. And therefore Her Maj. pleasure is that you do not longer continue him in that place and charge of General of the Horse, but dispose of it to some other as you shall think good; Her Maj. esteeming it a very unseasonable time to confer upon him any so great place, having so lately given her cause of offence towards him. This being Her Maj. direction and commandment unto us, we do deliver it by this our letter, as from herself, wherein having discharged our duties, we are sorry for the occasion. From the Court at Greenwich, the 10th of June, 1599.

To this letter Essex replied from Dublin on the 11th July.

No. IX.[1]

Essex to the Lords of the Council.

To come to that which I never looked should come to me (I mean your LL. letter, touching the displacing of the Earl of Southampton), your LL. say that Her Majesty thinketh it strange, and taketh it offensively that I appointed the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse, seeing Her Majesty not only denied it when I moved it, but gave me an express

[1] S. P. O., an extract.

prohibition to any such choice. Surely, my LL., it shall be far from me to contest with your LL., much less with Her Majesty; howbeit, God and mine own soul are my witnesses that I had not, in this nomination, any disobedient or irreverent thought. That I ever moved Her Majesty for the placing of any officer, my commission fully enabling me to make free choice of all the officers and commanders of the army, I do not remember. That Her Majesty, in the Privy Chamber at Richmond, I only being with her, shewed a dislike of his having any office, I do confess; but mine answer was, that if Her Majesty would revoke my commission, I would cast both myself and it at Her Majesty's feet; but if it pleased Her Majesty that I should execute it, I must work with mine own instruments; and from this profession and protestation I never varied; whereas, if I had held myself barred from yielding my Lord of Southampton place and reputation someway answerable to his degree and expense, no man, I think, doth imagine that I loved him so ill as to have brought him over. Therefore, if Her Majesty punish me with her displeasure for this choice, *pœna dolenda venit.* And now, my LL., were it as then it was, that I were to choose, or were there nothing in a new choice but my L. of Southampton's disgrace and my discomfort, I should easily be induced to displace him, and to part with him. But when in obeying this commandment I must discourage all my friends, who now see the days of my suffering draw near, follow me afar off, and are some of them tempted to renounce me; when I must dismay the army, which already looks sadly upon me, as pitying both me and itself in this comfortless action; when I must encourage the rebels, who, doubtless, will think it time to hew upon a withering tree, whose leaves they see beaten down, and the branches in part cut off; when for ever I must disable myself in the course of this service, the world now clearly perceiving that I either

want reason to judge of merit, or freedom to right it, disgraces being there heaped, when, in my opinion, rewards are due; give just grief leave once to exclaim, *O miserable employment, and more miserable destiny of mine, that makes it impossible for me to please and serve Her Majesty at once!* Was it treason in my Lord of Southampton to marry my poor kinswoman, that neither long imprisonment, nor no punishment besides that hath been usual in like cases, can satisfy or appease; or will no kind of punishment be fit for him, but that which punisheth not him, but me, this army, and poor country of Ireland?

The star of Essex was in its decline, and this earnest apostrophe only drew forth fresh reproaches. On the 19th July, the Queen wrote to Essex a letter, of which part was a reply to the above.

"For the matter of Southampton, it is strange to "us that his continuance or displacing should work "so great an alteration, either in yourself valuing "our commandments as you ought, or in the dispo- "sition of our army, where all the commanders can- "not be ignorant that we not only not allowed of "your desire, but did expressly forbid it, and being "such a one whose experience can be of no great "use. It is therefore strange to us that you will "dare thus to value your own pleasing in things un- "necessary, and think by your private arguments "to carry for your own glory a matter wherein our "pleasure to the contrary is made notorious."[1]

It was now clear, whatever the cause, whether by the workings of his enemies, or her own anger, Eli-

[1] S. P. O.

zabeth would not suffer Southampton to retain his appointment. It seems as if the purpose was to discontent and disgust Essex through his friends: first, Sir Christopher Blount refused, next Southampton displaced, and then the Earl of Rutland recalled. His execution of the Queen's pleasure was announced by Essex to the Council.

No. X.[1]

Essex to the Lords of the Council.

By your last letters I received a second signification of her Majesty's pleasure for the dispatching of my Lord of Southampton from the charge of the government of the horse; and withal a letter sent by Her Majesty in confirmation of Her Majesty's pleasure delivered by your LL.; upon the receipt of which despatch I did both signify to my Lord of Southampton, that he should not take upon him that place hereafter, and wrote to Mr. ———, to stay the entertainment, and strike that office out of the list, so that Her Majesty's order is duly and exactly performed.

Touching the propriety and policy of the journey into Leinster and Munster; although it excited, as we shall see, great anger in the Queen, there is reason to believe that course was at first approved; and it was only by the device of Cobham and Ralegh, who led Elizabeth to expect vast results, and then detracted from whatever advantage was gained, that she was led to use such bitterly reproachful language to the Earl of Essex. It was the custom of Queen Elizabeth to reward the most active and zealous efforts of her

[1] S. P. O.

servants with reproaches for not having effected greater things.

Sir Robert Cecyll in his correspondence with Sir Henry Neville, at this period ambassador in France, reports the state of Irish affairs; and as he cannot be quoted as an authority in any degree influenced by partiality for the Earl of Essex, his evidence carries great weight. On the 23rd May, he writes in answer to some premature reports that had reached Paris, that Essex, "not having arrived in Ireland " before the 17th April, must have wrought miracles " to have settled and distributed an army of 16,000 " foot and 1300 horse, and to have accommodated " them with all necessaries in a country full of misery " and disorder, in a shorter time than he did; for " the time of the year not serving to pass into " Ulster to break the head of the rebellion till the " month of June, within twenty days his L. began a " journey into Leinster, and from thence intends to " pass into Munster, with a purpose to secure those " provinces, that thereby the main action of Ulster " may be proceeded withal with less distraction."[1]

On the 14th July, "the Earl is by this time re- " turned to Dublin, and prepareth to go into the " North; he hath done as much as could be done by " the sword, on the rebels in Munster and Leinster; " for he hath passed at his pleasure where he listed, " notwithstanding all the plots they could use, either " of force or stratagem. But the rogues shun fight,

[1] Memorials of Affairs of State, by Sir Ralph Winwood. Lond. 1725, i. 40.

" and so know how to spend us, and eat us out with " time."[1]

Yet, on the 19th July, her principal minister being clearly of opinion that good service had been done, the Queen wrote a long and angry letter to Essex, full of reproaches for his delay in proceeding against Tyrone; for the time he had wasted in the Munster journey, without bringing in a capital rebel; and declaring that the taking of Cahir Castle was only taking an Irish hold from a rabble of rogues, and was no great matter, but what the President, with a convenient addition to his numbers, might have effected. " Then," says she, " must we not hide from " you, that however we do esteem you for the good " things that are in you, but that our honour hath " dwelt too long in us to leave that point uncleared. " That whosoever it be that you do clad with any " honor or places, wherein the world may read the " least suspicion of neglect or contempt of our com- " mandments, we will never make dainty to set on " such shadows as shall quickly eclipse any of those " lustres."[3] The letter continues with the reference to Southampton already quoted.

The Queen wrote again on the 30th July, and after some preliminary remarks on the victualling, and another reprimand for his unseasonable journey into Munster, whereby he broke the heart of the best troops, desires him to lose no time in making his expedition into the North against Tyrone; and then

[1] Memorials of Affairs of State, by Sir Ralph Winwood. London, 1725, i. 40.

[2] Copy in S. P. O., certified by Secretary Windebank.

continues, "because we know that on your continu-
"ance there doth now depend the order and conduct
"of all this important affair, and that by your return,
"until the Northern action be tried, many and great
"confusions may follow, our will and pleasure is,
"and so we do upon your duty command you, that
"notwithstanding our former license, provisionally
"given, whereby you have liberty to return and
"constitute some temporary governor in your absence,
"that you do now no ways take that liberty, nor ad-
"venture to leave the State in any person's govern-
"ment but with our allowance first had of him, and
"our pleasure first known to you, what order you
"shall leave with him. After you shall have certified
"us to what form you have reduced things in the
"North, what hath been the success, and whom you
"and the Council could wish to leave with that
"charge behind; that being done, you shall with all
"speed receive our warrant, without which we do
"charge you, as you tender our pleasure, that you
"adventure not to come out of that kingdom by
"virtue of any former license whatever."[1]

This lets us into the secret cause of Essex patching up his hasty and discreditable truce with Tyrone. He at once suspected some plotting to keep him in Ireland, and determined to hasten his return[2], taking

[1] S. P. O.

[2] The reason of the Queen's giving this order appears to have arisen from the apprehension of Cecyll, that as soon as Essex heard of a fleet fitting against the Spaniards, he would hasten back; while from his letters (Winwood, i. 91.) it appears that the preparations were *only* precautions, he "preferring the ways of safety before any matter of charge."

advantage of the expression, "after the Northern "action tried," to disobey all the spirit of the above orders. Mistaken Essex! the true way to have conquered his enemies, and silenced them, was to have applied all his forces, all his energies, to the Northern journey, and by one blow have brought the most important rebel of all to the dust. The small lump of leaven in his nature was now working, spreading, corrupting his noble qualities, and blinding his judgment, and gradually leading him towards the pitfall of destruction, already prepared for him by his enemies.

It has been incidentally remarked, that an English force, under Sir Henry Harrington, had been defeated by the rebels near Wicklow. This unlucky affair occurred on the 29th May. The force under Sir Henry was 500 foot and 60 horse, and they were defeated with great slaughter.

On the return of Essex to Dublin, and his inquiry into the circumstances, it appearing that the troops had behaved with cowardice, he resolved to make a severe example, which he thus reports to the Council on the 11th July.

"On Monday last I called a Marshal's Court on "the captains and officers who were under Sir H. "Harrington, when our troops, having advantage of "numbers, and no disadvantage of ground, were put "in rout, and many cut in pieces without striking a "blow. In this court Pierce Walsh, Lieutenant to "Captain Adam Loftus, for giving the first example "of cowardice and dismaying to the troops, was "condemned to die, and afterwards accordingly exe-

"cuted. The other captains and officers, though "they forsook not their places assigned them, but "were forsaken by their soldiers, yet because in such "an extremity and disaster they did not something "very extraordinary, both by their example to en- "courage the soldiers, and to acquit themselves, were "all cashiered, and are still kept in prison. The "soldiers being before condemned all to die, were by "me most of them pardoned; and, for example's "sake, every tenth man only executed. Sir H. "Harrington, because he is a Privy Councillor in this "kingdom, I forbear to bring to trial until I know "Her Majesty's pleasure.

"Albeit the poor men that marched with me eight "weeks together be very weary, and unfit for a new "journey, and besides the horsemen so divided, that I "cannot draw 300 to a head; yet as fast as I can call "these troops together, I will go look upon yonder "proud rebel; and if I find him on hard ground, and "in an open country, though I should find him in "horse and foot three for one, yet will I by God's "grace dislodge him, or put the Council here to the "trouble of chusing a Lord Justice."[1]

Mr. Chamberlain again presents us with the talk of the town.

28th June.—The Earl of Rutland is returned out of Ireland upon commandment, and the Earl of Southampton said to be either come or coming, his place of General of the Horse being taken from him by commandment from hence; the Queen nothing satisfied with the Earl of Essex' manner of proceed-

[1] S. P. O.

ing, nor likes anything that is done, but says she allows him 1000*l.* a day to go in progress.

1*st August.*—Men marvel Essex hath done so little; he tarries yet at Dublin: hath made sixteen new knights, for what service I know not, belike it is *de bene esse.* His decimating Sir H. Harrington's company much descanted on, and not greatly liked.

23*rd August.*—The Earl of Essex hath made many new knights, but I cannot yet come by the bead-roll; marry for a taste, you shall have as many as I can well remember: as Sir Henry Lindley, Sir Henry Carey, that was Sir Francis Vere's lieutenant, *two Lovelaces;* Sir *Ajax* Harrington, Sir *Jack* Heydon, Sir *Dick* Morrison, *cum multis aliis,* English and Irish, to the number of fifty-nine in the whole, since his first arrival: it is much marvelled that this humour should so possess him, that, not content with his first dozens and scores, he should thus fall to huddle them up by half hundreds; and it is noted as a strange thing, that a subject, in the space of seven or eight years, should, upon so little service and small desert, make more knights than in all the realm besides; and it is doubted, that if he continue this course, he will shortly bring in tag and rag, cut and longtail, and so bring the order into contempt.

While preparing for the expedition into Ulster, the Earl of Essex thought it necessary to give a check to some of the rebels nearer Dublin; the O'Connors and O'Mores, in Leix and Ophaly, being very troublesome. Leading 1500 men into Ophaly, and sending Sir Christopher Blount with 1000 to Leix, he dispersed them with ease.

Having received a supply of 1000 men from England, he next prepared to march northward; and in

order to divide the forces of Tyrone, directed Sir Conyers Clifford, the governor of Connaught, to penetrate into Ulster from that province, and so create a diversion. The force under Clifford was 1500 foot, and 100 horse. On coming to the Curlew Mountains, the baggage and ammunition were halted under the protection of the horse, while the infantry made good the passage. They had not gone far, their road lying along a stony causeway, with woods and bogs on either side, when the rebels under O'Rorke attacked them vigorously, but were checked, until the men, having nearly consumed their ammunition, and being fatigued with their long march, were seized with a panic, and took to flight: no effort of their leaders could restrain them; Sir Conyers Clifford, and Sir Alex. Ratcliffe, with 120 men, were killed on the field; and the whole would probably have shared the same fate, had not the small body of horse, by repeated charges, so occupied the enemy, that their comrades were enabled to retreat without further loss, carrying their baggage with them to Boyle, and from thence to Athlone.

An inauspicious commencement this to the Northern journey, especially when we find that the English outnumbered the Irish on this occasion, by at least three to one. It was supposed that the leading men having given way infected those behind with their fears, and so threw the whole into disorder.

On the intelligence of this defeat arriving at Dublin, the Lord Lieutenant called a general council of war, to consider how the service was to be carried

out, and what could be done in Ulster. Their resolution is given in full. Then follows a letter, interceding for "poor Jack Radclyffe," the brother and heir of Sir Alexander.

At H. M. Castle of Dublin.

21 Aug. 1598.

We the Lords, Colonels, and Knights of the army, being called to a council of war the day and year above written, at what time the L. Lieutenant exponing to us his purpose of invading Ulster, as well in regard of Her Maj. express commandment, as also to pull down the pride of the arch traitor Tyrone, to redeem the late scorn of the Curlews, and lastly to hold up the reputation of the army, required us to deliver our opinions in what sort a present journey hither might be made; we who were then present, being thoroughly acquainted with the state of Her Maj. forces, as having particular charge of them, some as colonels over regiments, and some as captains over companies, after long debating, every one of us having spoken in order, at last by common consent resolved; seeing the army so unwilling to be carried thither, that some secretly run into England, others revolt to the rebels, a third sort partly hide themselves in the country, and partly feign themselves sick; and seeing that there could be no planting this year at Lough Foyle, nor assailing of the North but one way, the Connaught army consisting of a great part of old companies being lately defeated, and that our army, which passeth not the number 3500, or 4000 at the most, of strong and serviceable men, should be far overmatched when all the forces of the North should encounter them; and sithence that it was a course full of danger, and of little or no hope, to carry the army into their strengths, where the rebels should be first lodged, and should be able to bring 6000 shot to entertain fight with less than 2000; in

which places also our horse should never be able to serve or succor our foot; and further, forasmuch as we could place no garrisons in the north, but such as consisted of very great numbers, and great numbers we could not spare from so small an army, with any likelihood of making a good retreat with the rest; to say nothing of the want of shipping, and especially of victualling, caused by the great decay thereof, and, lastly, sithence if we could spare a sufficient number and could lodge them at Armagh and the Blackwater, it would but tie the army to be ever busied in victualling them, and, consequently, more incommodate us than trouble the rebels, as it appeareth in the former plantations there in the times of the Lord Burgh, Sir Will. Russel, and Sir John Norreys. In regard of the premises we all were of opinion, that we could not with duty to Her Maj., and safety to this kingdom, advise or assent to the undertaking of any journey far north. In which resolution, if any man suspected it proceeded of weakness or baseness, we will not only in all likely and profitable service disprove him, but will every one of us deal with his life, that we dissuaded this undertaking with more duty than any man could persuade unto it.

This is signed by the Earls of Southampton and Kildare; Lord Castle Connell; Sirs Edward Wingfield, Oliver Lambert, Henry Power, Matthew Morgan, Henry Docwra, Thomas Jermyn, Henry Davers, Fra. Darcy, Samuel Bagenall, Arthur Champernowne, Robert Drury, Richard Wilmot, Edward Herbert, and John Bolle.

No. XI.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Too much of the unhappy province of Connaught I have written to my LL.; to your Maj. only this, that if your Maj. be not gracious to poor Jack Radclyffe, in bestowing his wardship on him, he that is heir of a brave race, and hath lost his two elder brothers in your Maj. service, is utterly undone: his last worthy brother, who did as much honour to his name by his death as ever any young gentleman did, hath so impaired the estate, as without your Maj. goodness it is irrecoverable. The knowledge of which makes me be a remembrancer to your Maj. justice, though I dare not be intercessor for any. But what do I with a pen in my hand? What words have I to offer to such a goddess? Amazed silence best will fit me, till I revenge or follow worthy Conyers Clifford. My prayers shall be that this world may yield your Maj. as many joys as it doth torments to your Maj. humblest vassal,

ESSEX.

On the 9th August, the Queen wrote a letter to the Irish Council, reprimanding them for having dissuaded the Lord Lieutenant from the Northern journey on his first arrival, when he desired to proceed on it; and for having again objected to it on insufficient grounds. That the Earl did not escape, we may guess from his reply.

No. XII.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

Madam,—I offend you often, and afflict myself, therefore I ask of your Maj. justice this right, that I may be ad-

[1] Hulton MSS. [2] Ibid.

judged by yourself a man worthy to serve you, and to have my services graciously accepted; or to have your Maj. leave to retire for altogether; for to spend my best time without regard and encouragement, and to be subject every hour to base and vile imputations, is as impossible for me as it is intolerable. Your Maj. humblest vassal,

ESSEX.

Sir Robert Cecyll's notice of this defeat of Sir Conyers Clifford is given to Sir Henry Neville on the 17th August.[1] "Out of Ireland, this day, is "arrived very cross news; Sir Conyers Clifford, "the Governor of Connaught, is slain in an en- "counter with O'Donnel, and with him Sir Alex. "Ratcliffe and some 200 or 300 soldiers. This "accident may much divert my Lord's journey into "the North, which if it shall not be attempted at "all, the best part of this year's expense is lost. I "pray you use this with your accustomed discretion, "for though I desire you may know all truth, yet "the worse luck we have, the worse I know we "are esteemed by the French."

The Irish were as much elated by their unusual successes, as the English soldiers were dispirited. It is probable that the Earl of Essex shared somewhat in these feelings, and did not prepare for the Northern journey with the alacrity he would have shown against an enemy that was to be met in the open field. What indeed could be more discouraging to a man of his temper, than to lead his troops along narrow causeways bordered by morasses and woods,

[1] Winwood, i. 91.

from which the unseen foe picked off his men as they passed; who, even when discovered and pursued, from their activity, the lightness of their equipments, and familiarity with the fastnesses, had no difficulty in evading the heavily armed, inexperienced English soldier? The Irish, far from showing symptoms of submission, swore that if there were an Earl of Essex on every churl who came over from England, they should be fought withal.

Another source of disquiet to the Lord Lieutenant must have been the constant rebukes and censures he received from the Queen: we give another letter, in which he endeavours to soften her.

No. XIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

I perceive by your Maj. two last letters, there are three grounds of your displeasure against me; the not displacing of my Lord of Southampton; the not sending the list of the officers and commanders; and the making of knights.

To the first I plead, that, in the very same hour in which I received a commandment signed by your Maj. to displace my L., I did obey it. To the second, that the treasurer, who might more exactly make the certificate than myself, took it upon him, and doth assure me he hath long since sent it over. To the last, that if I could have found any other means to give men of worth encouragement or reward, or by any other circumstance could have kept life and spirit in this army, I had been very sparing in bestowing this degree. But except I had more credit to commend their suits into

[1] Hulton MSS.

England, or ability to reward their services here, I must either use the liberty of your Maj. commission in that point, or resolve to have no men of worth tarry with me, with which I could be well content if I were free from this charge, which would make you hear that the governor of this kingdom was quit by his army, and no man can tell what is become of him, as the governor of one of your provinces was too lately. As the world is strangely altered with me, when I receive letters of such bitter style, so the state and minds of your people are strangely altered, when your army, which never yet abandoned the body of any principal commander being dead, doth now run away from their chief commander being alone and in fight; and that your people had rather be hanged for cowardice, than killed or hurt in service. Your Maj. may now assure yourself, you must either make peace with all your enemies, and give satisfaction to all your rebels, or not be known to forespeak and discountenance your own actions.

For myself, I care not what happen to myself, for if a kerne kill me not, sickness will; but for your Maj., I sigh to think when you shall be safe, when your people neither have confidence in any one of your subjects, nor in themselves. Whosoever hath most of your favour, I will most deserve it. No man shall do you that service, nor no man bears in his heart that working affection that you might have found in your Maj. humblest vassal,

ESSEX.

In July and August there were serious alarms in England that Spain projected another invasion; and a fleet and armament were collected in the Downs under the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Walter Ralegh. The fear only lasted a month, but, as Sir Robert

Cecyll justly observed to Sir Henry Neville, he preferred the ways of safety before the matter of charge; and, therefore, although he did not give credit to the report, he prepared against it. Camden asserts that the real object of this armament was to prevent the Earl of Essex from bringing over his army to drive his enemies from Court. Poor Essex! he had errors enough to answer for without being falsely charged; there was not an atom of truth in this assertion of Camden.

One of his officers being desirous to offer his services, Essex gave him the following letter recommending him to the Queen.

No. XIV.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

That any man should leave purgatory to go to paradise, is not strange. This gentleman hath carried himself very well in his service here, and is now desirous, upon the alarum of attempts there, to render his service there. None is banished from the happiness of your presence, and barred of striking a stroke for your defence, but your Majesty's servant, whose faith and sorrow shall have eternal being,

ESSEX.

In the beginning of September, Mr. Cuffe, secretary to the Earl of Essex, arrived, having been despatched by him with letters to England, when he proceeded on his Northern journey, which the Queen answered in the following letter.

[1] Hulton MSS.

No. XV.[1]

Elizabeth to Essex.

Right trusty and well beloved cousin, and trusty and well beloved, we greet you well.—Having sufficiently declared unto you before this time, how little the manner of your proceedings hath answered with our direction, or the world's expectation; and finding now by your letters by Cuffe, a course more strange, if strange may be, we are doubtful what to prescribe you at any time, or what to build upon your writing to us in anything, for we have clearly discerned of late, what you have ever to this hour possessed us with—expectation that you would proceed as we have directed you; but your actions always shew the contrary, though carried in such sort, as we were sure to have no time to countermand them. Before your departure, no man's counsel was held sound, which persuaded not presently the main prosecution in Ulster, all was nothing without that, and nothing was too much for that. This drew on the sudden transportation of so many thousands to be carried over with you, and when you arrived, we were charged with more than the list, on which we resolved, by the number of 300 horsemen above the thousand, which was assented to, which were only to be in pay during service in Ulster; we have been also put in charge ever since the first journey, the pretence of which voyage appeared, by your letters, was to do some present service in the interim, while that grew more commodious for the main execution; for which purpose, you did importune with great earnestness, that all manner of provisions might be hastened to Dublin against your return; of this resolution to defer your going into Ulster, you may well think that we would have made stay, if you had given us more time by warning, or if we could have imagined, by

[1] Fynes Moryson, Itinerary, 39.

the contents of your own writings, that you would have spent nine weeks abroad; and your return, when the third part of July was past, and that you had understood our mislike of your former course, and made your excuse of undertaking it only in respect of your conformity to the council's opinions, with great protestations of haste to the north. Then we received another letter of new reasons, to suspend that journey yet awhile, and to draw the army into Ophaly, the fruit whereof, at your home coming, was nothing else but new relations of such miseries of our army, and greater difficulties to perform the Ulster wars. Then followed from you and the council, a new demand of 2000 men, to which, if we would assent, you could speedily undertake what we had so often commanded; when it was granted, and your going onward promised by divers letters, we received by this bearer new fresh advertisements, that all you can do is to go to the frontiers, and that you have provided only twenty days victuals. In which kind of proceeding we must deal plainly with you and that council, that it were more proper for them to leave troubling themselves with instructing us, by what rules our power and their obedience are limited; and bethink them of the courses that have been only derived from their counsel; and how to answer this part of theirs, to train us into a new expense for one end, and to employ it for another, to which we never would have assented, if we could have suspected it should have been undertaken before we heard it was in action; and, therefore, we do wonder how it can be answered, seeing your attempt is not in the capital traitor's country, that you have increased our list. But it is true, and we have often said it, we were ever won to expense by little and little, and by representations of great resolutions in generalities, till they came to particular execution; of all which courses, whoever shall examine any of your arguments used for excuse, shall find that your own proceedings beget your difficulties, and that no just causes do breed the alter-

ations of lack of numbers. If sickness of the army be the reason, why was not the action undertaken when the army was in better state? if winter's approach, why were the summer months of July and August lost? if the spring were too soon, and the summer that followed otherwise spent? if the harvest that succeeded were so neglected, as nothing hath been done, then surely we must conclude that none of the four quarters of the year will be in season for you and that council to agree of Tyrone's prosecution, for which all our charge is intended. Further, we require you to consider whether we have not great cause to think that your purpose is not to end the war, when yourself have often told us, that all the petty undertakings in Leix, Munster, and Connaught are but loss of time, consumption of treasure, and, most of all, our people, until Tyrone himself be first beaten, on whom all the rest depend: do not you see that if this course be in all parts, by his sinister seconding all places, where any attempts be offered, that it is like to spend us and our kingdom beyond all moderation, as well as the report of their success in all parts hath blemished our honour, and encouraged others to no small presumption: we know you cannot so much fail in judgment, as not to understand that all the world seeth how time is delayed, though you think that the allowance of your council: . . . . . how often have you told us that others that preceded you had no judgment to end the war, who often resolved us, until Lough Foyle and Bealsliman were planted, there could be no hope of doing service on the capital rebels; we must therefore let you know, as it cannot be ignorance, so it cannot be want of means; for you had your asking, you had choice of times, you had power and authority more ample than ever any had, or ever shall have; it may well be judged with how little contentment we seek this and other errors, but how should that be hid which is so palpable.

And therefore, to leave that which is past, and that you may be prepared to remedy matters hereafter, rather than to

fill your paper with unpertinent arguments being in your general letters, savoring still in many points of humors that concern the private of you our Lord Lieutenant, we do tell you plainly, and you that are of our council, that we wonder at your indiscretion to subscribe to letters which concern our public service, when they are mixed with many matters private and directed to our council table, which is not wont to handle things of so small importance.

To conclude, if you say that our army, being in list 19,000, that you have them not, we answer then to you our treasurer, that we are evil served, and that there needs not so frequent demands of full pay: if you will say that the muster-master is to blame, we much muse then why he is not punished. We say to you our General, if we would *ex jure proprio judicare*, that all defects by musters, yea, though never in so remote garrisons have been affirmed to us, to deserve to be imputed to the General; for the small proportion you say you carry with you, of 3500 foot, when lately we augmented you 2000 more, it is past comprehension, except it be that you have left too great numbers in unnecessary garrisons, which do increase our charge, and diminish our army; which we command you to reform, especially since, by your continual report of the state of every province, you describe them all to be in worse conditions than ever they were before you put foot in that kingdom.

Then desiring to be informed how the rest of the year is to be passed, and how the army is to be disposed, the letter concludes with the following reference to the opinion of the principal officers given on the 21st August:—

We have seen a writing, in manner of a catalogue, full of challenges, that are impertinent, and of comparisons that are needless, such as hath not been before this time presented to

a state, except it be done more with the hope to terrify all men from censuring your proceedings; had it not been enough to send us the testimony of the council, but that you must call so many of those that are of so slender judgment, and none of our council, to such a form of subscription; surely, howsoever you may have warranted them, we doubted not but to let them know what belongs to us, to you, and to them. And thus expecting your answer, we end at our manor of Nonsuch, the 14th Sept. 1599.

Ireland was then, as now, the great difficulty of the English Government, and but little known; the very letter of Essex on the state of the country, which we have already given, shows how ignorant he was previous to his going over, his former opinions being now brought up as witnesses against him. With regard to the delay of the Ulster journey, no doubt it was impracticable at his first arrival, and that the advice of the Council which he followed, and which they subsequently disowned, was perfectly good. Had it not been so, Mountjoy, with this example before his eyes, would scarcely have acted as he did the next year, when he followed the footsteps of Essex so exactly that he went into Munster first, and did not attempt Ulster until the end of May.

That journey into Munster filled advantageously the interval before marching against Tyrone, and afforded an opportunity of exercising, disciplining, and accustoming to field service, the raw recruits of which a very large proportion of the army was composed.

There is another consideration,—how far blame is due to the Queen, for sending on a service which she

and her Council well knew required the greatest patience and perseverance on the part of its head, one so impetuous and hasty as the Earl of Essex. As it was not his fault that he was chosen, so we cannot blame him for not having put on a new nature. Whatever opinion may be formed of the policy of such an appointment, there can be but one respecting his subsequent treatment; never had General less fair play shown him; almost from the hour of his landing in Ireland, the royal despatches were filled with reproaches, that the rebels were not already vanquished. I now proceed to relate the crowning act of this campaign.

The Lord Lieutenant had notified in his letters sent by Cuffe, that the troops were so unwilling to go into Ulster that many of them deserted, many feigned sickness, and therefore he could not muster more than 4000 men; that Tyrone had at least 6000 well entrenched and supported by bogs and woods; that the Connaught army being defeated, no plantation could be made at Lough Foyle, nor any conclusive result be expected from a campaign against Tyrone. It was therefore resolved that with what force he had, and provisions for twenty days, he should make a demonstration on the borders of Ulster.

He collected for this purpose a force of between 3500 and 4000 foot, and 500 horse, which were directed to rendezvous between Navan and the Kells, and on the 28th August left Dublin with an escort of 100 horse, for Ardbracken, a house belonging to the Bishop of Meath, situated between those two towns.

From Dublin he wrote a short note to the Council announcing his departure, and from Ardbracken another to the Lords, and one to the Queen. The latter is touching, from the depth of wretchedness and despair which seems to have filled the writer's mind.

No. XVI.[1]

Essex to the Council.

My Lords,—I am even now putting my foot into the stirrup to go to the rendezvous at the Navan; and from thence I will draw the army as far, and to do as much, as duty will warrant me, and God enable me.

And so commending your LL. to God's best protection, I rest at your LL. commandment,

Dublin, the 28th of August. ESSEX.

No. XVII.[2]

Essex to the Council.

My Lords,—I do send by this bearer a list of the army I carry into the field, as also of all the rest of Her Maj. forces in the kingdom, and of the offices set down in both the establishments. I have also sent such letters as are come to my hands, of the successes of Her Maj. troops in several quarters. If in all particulars my despatches do not satisfy Her Maj. and your LL., I must pray your LL. to consider what small assistance I have, how infinite my cares must be, and how little should be expected from a man that hath no constant health, and no comfort from thence.

I have dismissed the poor marshal, maimed, fit now to serve Her Maj. with his prayers, his limbs being gone, and his service in council forbidden by Her Maj. I have with me

[1] S. P. O. [2] Ibid.

none fit to succeed him, but must myself do his office and mine own.

The charge of Leinster in mine absence I have committed to my Lord of Ormonde, who might have had more men of me, if he had not thought the army too weak which I go withal.

I hear even now that Tyrone is coming into the Brenny, and hath sent for all that he can make in the world, bragging that he will do wonders. But if he have as much courage as he pretendeth, we will on one side or the other end the war.[1] I commend your good LL. to God's best protection and rest.

Ardbracken, the 30th August. ESSEX.

No. XVIII.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

From a mind delighting in sorrow; from spirits wasted with travail, care, and grief; from a heart torn in pieces with passion; from a man that hates himself and all things that keep him alive, what service can your Maj. reap? Since my services past deserve no more than banishment and proscription into the most cursed of all countries, with what expectation or to what end shall I live longer? No, no, the rebel's pride and successes must give me means to ransom myself, my soul I mean, out of this hateful prison of my body. And if it happen so, your Maj. may believe that you shall not have cause to mislike the fashion of my death, though the course of my life could not please you. From your Maj. exiled servant,

Ardbracken, the 30th August. ESSEX.

[1] There is a marginal note in Cecyll's handwriting to this sentence: —"Here was no sign of a parley toward."

[2] Hulton MSS.

The whole of the troops did not come in till the 31st, and he was then compelled to wait another day for the provisions from Drogheda. This interval was passed by the Lord Lieutenant in examining the Lord Dunsany's country. Having commenced his march on the 2nd September, he encamped on the 3rd at Ardoff, from whence, at a distance of a mile and a half, Tyrone's camp was visible, a river and a wood lying between the two armies. 500 foot and two troops of horse were sent out to protect the parties cutting wood for fire and huts, which was only to be procured in the wood lying between them and Tyrone: some skirmishing occurred between the parties, without hurt on either side. The next day Essex marched through the plain to the mill of Louth; Tyrone marching through the woods on his flank, and encamping in the next wood, the outposts being in sight of each other. Here a council of war was held, which protested against Essex's proposal to attempt an attack on Tyrone, his army being both more numerous and advantageously posted. On the 5th September, Henry Hagan, a man much favoured and trusted by Tyrone, came to desire, on his master's part, a parley with the Earl of Essex, which was refused; but Essex told him that he should be the next morning on the hill, and if Tyrone desired to speak with him he should find him at the head of the troops.

The next morning Essex having left a guard over the camp and baggage, drew up on the first hill he came to in order of battle; then marched to another

hill, on which a body of Tyrone's horse was posted, which retired at his approach. He continued there till three o'clock in the afternoon, during which time Tyrone's foot never showed outside the wood: there was some skirmishing between the horse, in which the only hurt on the English side was to a French gentleman in the service of the Earl of Southampton.

After this skirmish, one of Tyrone's horsemen called to one of ours, and delivered a message from his master,—that Tyrone would not fight, nor draw out of the wood, but desired to speak with the Lord Lieutenant, but not between the two armies, on which the English returned to their camp, leaving a garrison of 500 men under Sir Christopher St. Lawrence in a fort at Newrath.

The next morning the army dislodged, and marched to Drumconragh; but before they had marched a mile, Henry Hagan came again to the Lord Lieutenant, and in the presence of the Earl of Southampton, Sir George Bourchier[1], Sir Warham St. Leger[2], and others, delivered a message to the following effect,—that Tyrone desired Her Majesty's mercy, and that the Lord Lieutenant would hear him, which if his Lordship would agree to, he would gallop round and meet his Lordship at the ford of Bellaclinthe, in the river Lagan. On this, two gen-

[1] Third son of John Bourchier, second Earl of Bath.

[2] Second son of Sir Anthony St. Leger, Deputy of Ireland in Henry VIII.'s reign; he served with distinction in Ireland; in January, 1600, meeting a body of rebels under Maguire, chief of Fermanagh, near Cork, the two leaders entered into single combat, and both were slain. Sir Warham was ancestor to A. B. St. Leger, Esq.

tlemen were sent with Hagan to view the place. There they found Tyrone, but the water so much out that they thought it an unfit place to speak in: on which Tyrone exclaimed, "Then I shall despair ever to speak with him;" but knowing the ford, he rode in up to his horse's belly, where the Earl, standing on the other bank, might hear him. Then the Earl came down, and seeing Tyrone alone, left his escort at a distance, and conversed with him for half an hour, after which they returned to their camps.

A second meeting took place, when six principal men of each side accompanied their chiefs. Those who went with Essex were the Earl of Southampton, Sir George Bourchier, Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir Henry Davis, Sir Edward Wingfield, and Sir William Constable. Tyrone and his companions stood in the water up to their horses' bellies, while the Lord Lieutenant with his party kept the hard ground. Tyrone spoke a good while bareheaded, saluting with much respect those who came with the Lord Lieutenant. After half an hour's conference it was agreed that commissioners from both sides should meet the next morning. The Earl of Essex sent Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir William Constable, Sir William Warren, and his secretary, Henry Wotton. By them a truce was concluded for six weeks, to continue from six weeks to six weeks, until May-day, and not to be broken without fourteen days notice on either side. Tyrone also agreed that such of his confederates as would not agree to this truce should not be assisted

by him against the Lord Lieutenant; that restitution of all spoils should be made within twenty days after notice given; and that, for the performance of this covenant, Essex should pledge his word, Tyrone his oath.

This being concluded, on the 9th September Essex dispersed his army, and went himself to Drogheda to take physic: Tyrone retired into the heart of his country.

Had Essex agreed to this cessation of arms during the summer, when, according to the Queen's expectations and his own expressed intention, he should have marched against Tyrone, we should have been ready to exclaim, Oh, vain and impotent conclusion; but it is not at all clear that at this time, when the expedition was professedly but a demonstration, it was not politic to make this truce, and preserve the borders of the Pale from inroad during the winter. But to effect this result it was unquestionably necessary that he should have remained at his post. We shall not, therefore, learn with any surprise that, shortly after his return to England, Tyrone again broke out into open rebellion.

Essex now received that letter of the 14th September from the Queen, from which some extracts have been given: his despatch, enclosing a journal of the expedition into Tyrone's country, from which this account is taken, reached the Queen by the hands of Captain Lawson on the 16th. The very next day the Captain was sent back with an answer, of which the most important portions follow.

No. XIX.[1]

The Queen to Essex.

Right trusty and right well beloved counsellor, we greet you well. By the letter and the journal which we have received from you, we see a quick end made of a slow proceeding, for any thing which our forces shall undertake in those quarters, which you pretended to visit, and therefore doubt not but that before this time you have ended the charge of the last two thousand which we yielded for other purposes, and of the three hundred more destined only for Ulster service.

It remaineth, therefore, that we return you somewhat of our conceits upon this late accident of your interview with the rebels. We never doubted but that Tyrone, whensoever he saw any force approach either himself or any of his principal partisans, would instantly offer a parley, specially with our supreme general of that kingdom, having often done it with those of subaltern authority; always seeking these cessations with like words, like protestations, and upon such contingents as we gather these will prove, by your advertisement of his purpose to go consult with O'Donnell.

And, therefore, to come to some answer for the present. It appeareth by your journal that you and the traitor spoke half an hour together without any body's hearing; wherein, though we that trust you with our kingdom are far from mistrusting you with a traitor, yet both for comeliness, example, and your own discharge, we marvel you would carry it no better; especially having in all things since your arrival been so precise to have good testimony for your actions, as whenever any thing was to be done to which our commandment tied you, it seemed sufficient warrant for you if your fellow councillors allowed better of other ways,

[1] Cott. MSS. Titus B. xiii. 544.

though your own reason carried you to have pursued our directions against their opinions; to whose conduct, if we had meant that Ireland, after all the calamities in which they have wrapped it, should still have been abandoned, then it was very superfluous to have sent over such a personage as yourself.

You have dealt so sparingly with us in the substance, by advertising us, at first, of the half hour's conference only, but not what passed on either side by letting us also know you sent commissioners, without shewing us what they had in charge, as we cannot tell, but by divination, what to think may be the issue of this proceeding. Only this we are assured of, that you have prospered so ill for us by your warfare, as we cannot but be very jealous lest you should be as well overtaken by the treaty. If this parley shall not produce such a conclusion as this intolerable charge may receive present and large abatement, then hath the management of our forces not only proved dishonourable and wasteful, but that which followeth is like to prove perilous and contemptible. Consider then what is like to be the end, and what will be fit to build on.

To trust this traitor upon oath is to trust a devil upon his religion. To trust him upon pledges is a mere illusory; for what piety is there among them that can tie them to rule of honesty for itself, who are only bound to their own sensualities, and respect only private utility.

And, therefore, whatever order you take with him, yet unless he yield to have garrisons planted in his own country to master him—to deliver O'Neale's sons, whereof the detaining is most dishonourable—and to come over to us personally here, we shall doubt you do but piece up a hollow peace, and so the end prove worse than the beginning. And, therefore, as we do well approve your own voluntary profession, wherein you assure us you will conclude nothing

till you have advertized us, and heard our pleasure, so do we absolutely command you to continue and perform that resolution. — Pass not your word for his pardon, nor make any absolute contract for his conditions, till you do particularly advertize us by writing, and receive our pleasure hereafter for your further warrant and authority in that behalf.

Given under our signet at Nonsuch, the 17th day of September, 1599, in the forty-first year of our reign.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

ARRIVAL OF ESSEX AT NONSUCH, ON THE MORNING OF MICHAELMAS EVE. — HIS RECEPTION BY THE QUEEN. — HE IS COMMITTED TO THE LORD KEEPER'S CUSTODY AT YORK HOUSE. — THE QUEEN EXASPERATED. — HIS SUBMISSIVE LETTERS. — HE FALLS ILL. — LADY ESSEX'S GRIEF. — POPULAR FEELING IN HIS FAVOUR. — THE QUEEN ORDERS A CONSULTATION OF PHYSICIANS. — SHE VISITS HIM, BUT REFUSES HIS NEW YEAR'S GIFT. — HE IS REMOVED TO ESSEX HOUSE. — LADY ESSEX ALLOWED TO VISIT HIM IN THE DAY. — HIS OCCUPATIONS. — HE IS SENT BEFORE AN IRREGULAR COURT AT YORK HOUSE. — PROCEEDINGS THERE. — HIS BEHAVIOUR. — THE CENSURE. — HE IS RELEASED, BUT ORDERED NOT TO APPROACH THE PRESENCE.

WHEN the Queen wrote the letter, with which the last chapter closes, she was not aware that the truce had been concluded, and therefore was ignorant of the terms of it. Whether her displeasure at his proceedings, so far as she knew them, led him to resolve on going over in person, that he might excuse himself; or whether any report brought him by Cuffe, who was the bearer of Elizabeth's letter of the 14th, induced him to form that resolution; or whether the truce itself was so hastily concluded to enable him to leave the country, seems problematical. The only thing we are certain of is, that the moment he received the letter of the 17th, he determined to go, and assuredly lost no time; for on the 24th he swore

in Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir George Carew, as Lords Justices; appointed the Earl of Ormonde to command the army, instantly embarked, and arrived at London on the morning of the 28th September.

Coming post to Westminster, he crossed in a boat to Lambeth, where he took such horses as he found waiting for their owners. Sir Thomas Gerrard, whose horses were coming over in the ferry boat, shortly overtook him, and learning that Lord Grey de Wilton was in front, rode on and told him that the Earl of Essex was a little behind, if he would speak with him. "No," said Lord Grey, "I have "business at Court." "Then, I pray you," rejoined Sir Thomas, "let my Lord of Essex ride before, "that he may bring the first news of his return "himself." "Doth he desire it?" asked Lord Grey. "No," answered Sir Thomas, "nor will he, I think, "ask anything at your hands." "Then," said his Lordship, "I have business;" and with that rode on harder than before, and arriving a quarter of an hour before the Earl, went up to Sir Robert Cecyll's room and acquainted him with it, but no other person knew of his approach. The account of his reception by the Queen is given very fully by Mr. Rowland White.[1]

"On Michaelmas eve, about ten o'clock in the "morning, my Lord of Essex lighted at court gate in "post, and made all haste up to the presence, and so to

[1] Sidney Mem. "R. W. to Sir Robert Sidney, from Nonsuch, Michaelmas day at noon."

" the privy chamber, and staid not till he came to the " Queen's bed-chamber, where he found the Queen " newly up, the hair about her face; he kneeled unto " her, kissed her hands, and had some private speech " with her, which seemed to give him great con- " tentment; for, coming from Her Majesty to go shift " himself in his chamber, he was very pleasant, and " thanked God, though he had suffered much trouble " and storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. " 'Tis much wondered at here that he went so boldly " to Her Majesty's presence, she not being ready, and " he so full of dirt and mire that his very face was " full of it. About eleven he was ready, and went " up again to the Queen, and conferred with her till " half an hour after twelve. As yet all was well, and " her usage very gracious towards him. He went to " dinner, and during all that time discoursed merely " of his travels and journies in Ireland, of the good- " ness of the country, the civilities of the nobility that " are true subjects, of the great entertainment he had " in their houses, of the good order he found there. " He was visited frankly by all sorts here, of Lords " and Ladies and Gentlemen; only strangeness is ob- " served between him and Mr. Secretary, and that " party. As he was going from dinner he spied me, " and very honourably took me by the hand; very " kindly taking me apart, he demanded of me how " your Lordship did, and when I heard from you. " I answered, that you were well, but that you had " suffered much here. He desired me to com- " mend him very heartily unto you. Then he went

" up to the Queen, but found her much changed in " that small time, for she began to call him in " question for his return, and was not satisfied in the " manner of his coming away, and leaving all things " at so great hazard. She appointed the Lords to " hear him, and so they went to Council in the " afternoon; Lord Chamberlain, Lord North, Mr. " Secretary, and Mr. Comptroller; and he went with " them, where they sat an hour. But nothing was " determined, or yet known. Belike it is referred to " a full council, for all the Lords are sent for to be " here this day. It is mistrusted that, for his dis- " obedience, he shall be committed; but that will " be seen either this day or to-morrow.

" The manner of his departure was thus. An " hour before he came away he called the Council at " Dublin before him, and acquainted them with his " resolution; committed the sword to the Lord Chan- " cellor and the Treasurer, and the command of the " army to the Earl of Ormonde. There are come " over with him the most part of his household, and " a great number of Captains and Gentlemen. My " Lord Southampton, my Lord Dunkellin[1], and others " are at London, but not come hither yet."

That night, between ten and eleven, the Earl received the Queen's command to keep his chamber.

The next day, the Council sat in the forenoon, and continued till two o'clock, when Mr. Smith was sent to bring the Earl of Essex. When he came, the

[1] Son of the Earl of Clanrickarde; he succeeded his father, 1602.

Lords rose and saluted him, and then reseated themselves, Essex standing uncovered at the head of the table.

His examination was so privately conducted, that even the clerks were excluded, and it lasted till five o'clock, when Essex returned to his apartments, and the Council proceeded to the Queen to report their proceedings.

She replied that she would pause and consider his answers.

The temper, gravity, and discretion with which the Earl was reported to have replied to the matters laid to his charge, could not be surpassed. The charges were, that he had contemptuously disobeyed Her Majesty's will and letters by returning; that he had written presumptuous letters from Ireland; that his proceedings there were contrary to those previously resolved on; his rash manner of coming away; his overbold going to Her Majesty's bedchamber; his making so many idle knights.

The Court divided openly into two parties; the Earls of Shrewsbury and Nottingham, the Lords Thomas Howard, Cobham, and Grey, Sir Walter Ralegh, and Sir George Carew, went to dinner with Sir Robert Cecyll; while Essex was accompanied by the Earls of Worcester[1] and Rutland, Lords Mountjoy, Rich, Henry Howard, Lumley, Sir Edward Dier,

[1] Edward Somerset, fourth Earl, born, 1555; he succeeded Essex as Master of the Horse; married Elizabeth, daughter of Fras. Earl of Huntingdon; and died, 1627. Charles Howard, Lord Effingham, was the eldest son of the Earl of Nottingham.

Mr. Comptroller, and many knights. Lord Effingham was often with him, professing friendship. Lord Henry Howard, however, was held "a ranter, and not "to be trusted;" and R. White cautions Sir R. Sidney against him.

On the 1st October, the Queen committed Essex to the custody of the Lord Keeper; and he removed to York House[1], none of his friends being permitted to accompany him.

Sir Robert Cecyll had written to Sir Henry Neville on the 18th September, that he conceived affairs in Ireland would soon draw to a conclusion, and that Essex would be recalled; for if peace followed, he need not remain, and, for a winter war, so great a general need not.[2] On the 8th October he again wrote, that the manner of the Earl's coming before the Queen knew of his intention, displeased her much; for, not two months before, when the Spanish alarm was very hot, Her Majesty doubting that his desire might bring him over, whereby the service he was on might be prejudiced, wrote to him, absolutely commanding him not to come over till he had her warrant for his return. Notwithstanding which order, on finding his agreement with Tyrone was not likely to be well received by her, he had done so. His "sour relation,"

[1] Built by the Archbishop of York, 1557, but inhabited during this and the following reign by the Lords Keepers; subsequently by the Duke of Buckingham; by the last of whom, of the Villiers family, it was sold. The purchasers pulled it down, and built on the site, the streets called George, Villiers, Duke, Buckingham Streets, and Of Alley.—See *Handbook of London.*

[2] Winwood, i. 105.

added to the breach of her orders, had so exasperated her, that she had committed him to the Lord Keeper's custody; "a matter which must have an end, and "will have shortly; though, for example's sake, Her "Majesty hath kept this form with him."[1]

Mr. Rowland White, having received from Sir Robert Sidney an assurance that he would burn his letters, which fortunately was not kept, he promised to leave no circumstances unwritten concerning my Lord of Essex's disgrace: from his letters[2], therefore, we shall continue the narrative.

3rd October.— My Lord of Essex in durance at York House, only attended on by Wiseman and another. A house is kept at Essex House, for my Lord and Lady Southampton, and the family.

6th October, Saturday at night.—On Friday, the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Secretary were with my L. of Essex, from eight in the morning till near eleven. What is truly handled against him is not known, but to them who gravely and wisely govern here under Her Majesty. My Lady Walsingham,—I mean the old lady,— made humble suit to Her Majesty, that she would be pleased to give the Earl leave to write to his Lady, who was newly delivered; Lady Essex was brought to bed of a daughter, on the 30th September, and extremely troubled that she neither saw him nor heard from him; but at first it was not granted, neither do I know if it be yet or no: this shews Her Majesty's heart is hardened towards him. It is said he is very ill, and troubled with a flux. No man goes to him, nor he desirous to see any."

He did not omit, by submissive letters, of which

[1] Winwood, i. 118.

[2] Sidney Mem. vol. ii.

the following is apparently the first, to endeavour to appease the Queen.

No. XX.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Receive, I humbly beseech your Maj., the unfeigned submission of the saddest soul on earth. I have offended in presumption, for which my humble soul doth sigh, sorrow, languish, and wish to die. I have offended a sovereign whose displeasure is a heavier weight upon me than if all the earth besides did overwhelm me. To redeem this offence, and recover your Maj.'s gracious favour, I would do, I protest, whatsoever is possible for flesh and blood; and for proof of my true sorrow, if your Maj. do not speedily receive me, I hope you shall see the strong effects of your disfavour in the death and destiny of your Maj.'s humblest vassal,

ESSEX.

He had been desired to state the condition in which he left Ireland, which he did in the following paper[2]; which, with the answers he gave on his examination, were so satisfactory to the Council, and through their report, to the Queen, that his release was daily expected. Sir Robert Cecyll told him he was glad to see that the Queen was well pleased with his conduct; and that he would do any thing to further his good and contentment, for which my Lord thanked him.

[1] Hulton MSS.

[2] This paper is in the handwriting of Lord Essex, and is endorsed by Sir R. Cecyll, "20 Sept. 1599. A relation of the manner of government of the kingdom of Ireland as the Earl of Essex left it, and hath now delivered it under his own hand."

I left with the Justices, as also with the Earl of Ormonde, order to keep this cessation precisely, and yet to stand upon their guard in every quarter, and in this cessation to see all Her Maj. forts and garrisons victualled for six months, they being most of them victualled for a good time already, and they having means left for the present supply to that proportion expressed. The authority of the Justices is expressed in the commission, whereof I here send a copy. It was drawn by Sir R. Napper and Sir. A. St. Leger, according to the very words of the warrant. The authority of the Earl of Ormonde is the same that was before my going into Ireland, though he have no new commission; but as while I was present he was my Lieut. General, so now he commands the wars in chief.

I used in the treaty with Tyrone, Sir W. St. Leger, who is now sent into Munster; Sir Wm. Warren, whom I sent to Tyrone at my coming away, the copy of whose instructions is among my papers, and the original was shewed to the Justices; Sir Wm. Constable and H. Wotton my secretary, who both are come over with me; and H. Wotton hath both the articles of cessation signed by Tyrone, and the instructions I gave to them, and is best able to deliver all circumstances, the whole business being chiefly left to Sir Warham St. Leger and him. The conditions demanded by Tyrone I was fain to give my word that I would only verbally deliver, it being so required of him before he would open his heart; his fear being that they should be sent into Spain, as he saith the letter with which he trusted Sir John Norreys was. I already told Her Maj. and the Lords where the knot is, which being loosed he hath protested that all the rest shall follow. But with those that have heretofore dealt with him, he protested he would not deal in this free manner, nor by his will in any sort whatsoever, since he had no confidence that they could procure him that which only would satisfy him, or performance of all that was agreed on.

The chief commander in Connaught is Sir Arthur Savage, in Munster Sir H. Poore, in Ulster Sir Sam. Bagenall, in Leinster Sir Oliver Lambart, but all whom account to the Earl of Ormonde, and to use the advice of such Colonels and principal Captains as were their assistants in their several charges.

The government of Connaught I have assigned to Sir H. Docwra, but would not place him in it, but brought him over to be confirmed or otherwise bestowed as shall please Her Maj. Munster is governed by a commission to the principal Council, to which I added Sir Warham St. Leger; anong my papers there are copies of all those directions.

To make a more full declaration of all things without help of my papers I am not able, being in that state of body that this which I have written is painfully set down. But I promised to send over daily advises and directions as soon as I had spoken with Her Maj. and the LL., and to give directions also and comfort to such of the Irishry as were principal instruments for Her Maj. in that kingdom, and to return with all expedition. If only by my coming away and Tyrone's perfidiousness any disaster had happened, I would have recovered it, or have lost my life: for I have a party there for Her Maj. besides her army. But now, when they shall hear of my present state, and shall see no new hopeful course taken, I fear that giddy people will run to all mischief.

Rowland White writes on the 11th October:—

The Ladies Southampton and Rich were at Essex House, but are gone to the country to shun the company that daily were wont to visit them in town, because it gave offence to the Court. His very servants are afraid to meet in any place to make merry, lest it might be ill taken. At the Court, my Lady

Scrope[1] is only noted to stand firm to him; she endures much at Her Majesty's hands, because she doth daily do all the kind offices of love to the Queen in his behalf. She wears all black, she mourns and is pensive, and joys in nothing but in a solitary being alone. And 'tis thought, she says much that few would venture to say but herself. My Lord Southampton and my Lord Rutland came not to the Court; the one doth but very seldom; they pass away the time in London merely by going to plays every day.

16*th October*.—Sir Christopher St. Lawrence at an ordinary took a cup, and drank to the health of my Lord of Essex, and confusion to his enemies: he was called in question for it before my Lord Treasurer, where he did not deny his words, but did justify them, if any enemy of my Lord Essex did find fault with him.

There was a muttering of unkindness between the Earl and Countess of Northumberland, on which they are parted; she came late last night to Essex House. My Lady Essex's daughter was christened by the Earl of Southampton, the Lady Cumberland, and Lady Rutland, without much ceremony.

The speedy release of the Earl was now anticipated, when a letter came from Tyrone to him, expressing surprise at his sudden departure from Ireland, and saying that he could not get his confederates to observe the truce. The Council also reported that peace was not likely to be of long continuance. Essex refused to receive any letters from Ireland, which were therefore delivered to the Queen. This intimation roused afresh her subsiding

[1] Philadelphia Cary, daughter of Henry, Lord Hunsdon, wife of Thomas, Lord Scrope of Bolton.

anger, and she asked if there were not good reason for committing the Earl. She informed Lord Mountjoy of her intention to send him to Ireland, from which he endeavoured to excuse himself.

On the 21st October the Council recommended the Queen to enlarge the Earl, his reasons for his proceedings in Ireland being so good[1], and his submission to Her Majesty for his offence in returning so humble: she angrily replied that such a contempt ought to be publicly punished. An attempt was made to reconcile Cecyll to Essex: the former expressed unwillingness, saying there was no constancy in the Earl's love, and he was too violent in his passions: that if he became a suitor to the Queen for the repairing his estate, and was denied, he would be jealous of him, Cecyll, who indeed would not move the Queen in such a cause. He said also that he had seen Essex's letters to the Queen, and heard of his language, full

[1] The Irish Council endeavoured, by a paltry quibble, to clear themselves of the charge of having advised the first proceedings of Essex in Ireland. "It appeareth," they write, "in one clause of Her Majesty's letter, that Her Majesty hath been informed that the Lord Lieutenant's journey into Munster grew by our consent and advice, contrary to his Lordship's own proposition and desire; whereby a great part of the summer was lost, and the flower of the army so tired, as it was accounted honor enough to bring them back again; for our parts we were utterly ignorant of his Lordship's purpose to go into Munster, the same being not so much as once spoken of in council, nor any of our advices or consents demanded. Though in this matter we could write more liberally in our own defence, yet we hope his Lordship will do us the right to purge us, to whom our clearness is best known, and upon that confidence we have been thus long silent, awaiting still that his Lordship would free us from all imputation that way." It will be recollected that they had advised a journey into Leinster, and, because Munster was not named, now endeavoured to ignore the whole proceeding.

of unfriendly expressions towards him, but he would show no malice.

4th November.—Yesterday, the Earl being in great extremity, Her Majesty gave Mr. Comptroller and Dr. Brown[1] leave to go to him, and this day Sir John Fortescue is permitted: he is infinitely troubled with the Irish looseness. Some lightning of grace and favor appears in Her Majesty towards him, for, besides her yesterday's favor, she is pleased he shall have the liberty of the garden; but Sir Walter Ralegh is fallen sick upon it.

Leave is granted to the Ladies Northumberland and Rich to come to Court to be suitors for him. The French ambassador had instructions to deal with the Queen for the Earl's liberty, but he found her very short and bitter on that point.

Sir Robert Cecyll either is married, or to be married, which the Queen is offended withal, affirming he promised never to marry; but he denies it, and says he only promised to forbear it three years.

My Lady of Essex is a most sorrowful creature for her husband's captivity; she wears all black of the meanest price, and receives no comfort in any thing.

29th November. — On Sunday, in the afternoon, the Countess of Essex came to Court all in black; all she wore was not valued at *5l.* She came to the Countess of Huntingdon's chamber, who came not to her; but by a second means her desire was made known, that she would move Her Majesty to give her leave to go see the Earl of Essex, who she heard the night before had been in great extremity. Answer was returned, she must attend Her Majesty's pleasure by the Lords of the Council, and come no more to court. The Earl of Essex is extreme ill of the stone, stranguillon, and

[1] Dr. Brown was the Queen's physician, whom Essex had desired to see some ten days before, when the Queen refused to permit the visit.

grinding of the kidneys, which takes from him his stomach and rest."

Sir John Harrington, the Queen's godson, returned from Ireland about this time: the Queen was very angry with him, accusing him of having gone for his knighthood.[1] Her fury was spent on all who had accompanied the Earl: Sir John has given us an account of his reception. He had been desired to keep a journal in Ireland. "On coming "into the presence, she chafed much, walked fastly "to and fro, looked with discomposure in her "visage, and, I remember, catched at my girdle "when I kneeled to her, and swore, by God's son "I am no Queen. That man is above me. Who "gave him command to come here so soon. I did "send him on other business." She then bid Harrington go home; he "did not stay to be bidden "twice. If all the Irish rebels had been at my "heels, I should not have made better speed."[2] After reading the journal she swore they were all idle knaves, and the Lord Deputy worse.

The storms raised in the royal atmosphere by the name of Essex, and the sight of any of his companions, were probably aggravated by what took place without. Not only did the popular voice speak loudly in his favour, but the severity of the Queen was blamed; the clergy from the pulpit preached in his vindication, and even prayed for him by name; pamphlets were published, papers were found on the

[1] He was one of the knights made by Essex in Ireland.
[2] Nug. Ant. i. 357.

walls, and scattered about the chambers of the palace, lauding him, and libelling his supposed enemies.

This was the reason the Council urged the Queen to end the persecution, for, from the manner in which Essex was treated, it can be called by no other name; this was the reason that she obstinately refused to listen to a word in his behalf.

In order to put an end to the public demonstrations in his favour, a court of Star Chamber was held on the 29th November, at which, after a public declaration of the cause of the Earl's imprisonment, and a recapitulation of his alleged offences, it was commanded that none should busy themselves with affairs of state which did not concern them. And if any person should thereafter know the authors of any libels, and not reveal the same, they should incur the like penalties with the authors themselves. Our authority says that the Lords "spoke so softly, and "the throng and press were so mighty," that he could not hear what they all said.

A slight amelioration in his treatment followed soon afterwards, for we find on the 13th December, that—

My Lady of Essex had leave yesterday to go to him, and so she did, but found him so weak, as, when he was removed out of his bed, he was laid on sheets, his own strength being decayed and gone, little hope there is of his recovery. The Earl of Essex received again the communion on Sunday; sent unto Her Majesty his two patents of the Horse and the Ordnance, which Her Majesty sent back again; that of the Marshal he keeps, and will during his life.

15*th December*.—On Thursday last, by Her Majesty's command, hearing that the Earl of Essex was desperately sick, eight physicians of the best experience assembled, and consulted what might speedily recover him to health, who sent in writing their opinion to Her Majesty,—that *salus magis optanda quam speranda fuit;* that these three things were required: to have his mind quieted, that he might take rest, that he might have recreation, that he might change the air; for they found his liver stopped and perished, his entrails and guts exulcerated, that they could not tell what now to minister but gentle glysters to keep him clean within.

This report seems to have awakened a spark of her old tenderness, for the letter goes on to state—

Her Majesty, very graciously understanding the state he was in, was very pensive and grieved, and sent Dr. James unto him with some broth. Her message was, that he should comfort himself, and that she would, if she might with her honor, visit him; and it was noticed she had water in her eyes when she spoke it. Some comfort is brought to the Earl, but it is feared and thought that it comes very late, for nature is decayed, and he is so feeble, that to make his bed he is removed on sheets and blankets. This afternoon a general opinion is that he cannot live many days, for he begins to swell, and he scours all black matter, as if the strength of nature were quite gone.

Mr. White reports as he was informed; but it is a very remarkable fact, that the Queen did actually visit Essex at York House. The authority is so good, and the report so circumstantial, that it cannot be doubted that Elizabeth paid this visit so secretly as to be unknown to the world. I can hardly

suppose that any gentle feeling actuated her; perhaps she desired to be convinced that Essex really was as ill as represented, and hence the consultation related by White.

No. XXI.[1]

William Trew to his Wife at Chartley.

My G. S. M.,—I did write to you by Edward Mastergent of Utceter, since when we have lived here in doubtful expectation, having a good day and a bad. Upon Monday and Tuesday last, the rumour was all over that my Lord was gone to the Tower, amongst those which ken not; and amongst us that he should go that day. It was so lamented generally, as I never saw the like. Upon Tuesday at night there was a letter found upon a pair of stairs in the Court, directed to Her Majesty, for the safety of Her Majesty and her estate; this letter she had and read, being two sheets of paper, and not acquainting any with the contents in it, locked it up in her closet. Thereupon there was a great stir in the Court that night, and some of the guard that gave out they must wait upon my Lord to the Tower, had their coats plucked off. Yesterday being Wednesday, all went well on our side: at 4 o'clock, the Queen, my Lady Warwick, and the Earl of Worcester went privately to York House to my Lord. What is done this night I know not, but we hope well. When the Sheriffs were to be prickt, my Lord Keeper spoke for my brother to be spared; but the Queen answered that she heard he was an honest man like his father, and therefore was sorry she had spared him so long. My Lord Rich deals badly with me, but I have good words of Sir Gilly Meyrick and Sir Harry Lindley. Upon Saturday the Ladies came to Essex House to

[1] Blithfield MSS. Trew was son-in-law to Mr. Bagot, and was in the service of the Earl of Essex.

lie there; they are weary of the country. Let nobody know the news but my brother. Commend me to all. Farewell, your loving husband,

St. Andrew's even, 1599. WILLIAM TREW.

On the 5th January, 1600, Essex had sufficiently recovered to sit up and eat at table. The Countess came to him every morning at seven, and staid till six, to which hours her access was limited; neither his son, his sisters, nor Lady Walsingham were yet allowed to see him.

He sent a rich new year's gift to the Queen, which was not accepted. Lady Rich, who was warmly attached to her brother, and of a high and resolute spirit, never ceased to importune the Queen for leave to visit him. Her letters[1] were read, her presents accepted, but no leave granted. Lady Leicester sent the Queen a rich new year's gift, which was very well received.

In February, Essex was to have been brought before the Star Chamber: this was prevented by Sir Robert Cecyll's means, who prevailed on Essex to write a letter of submission to the Queen. All his friends were now again in daily expectation of his release; when somebody telling her that it was reported the Star Chamber proceedings were stopped, because they could prove no offence against the Earl, which was probably the true reason, she became again furious,

[1] There is one letter of Lady Rich to the Queen, of such celebrity that scarcely any large collection of MSS. wants a copy. It begins, "Early did I hope this morning to have had mine eyes blessed with your Majesty's beauty." It is printed in Birch, ii. 442.

and his liberty seemed as distant as ever, while Lady Essex's access to him was limited from nine till four, and his son went back to Eton without seeing his "lord and father." This petty tyranny went so far that his mother, Lord Southampton, and others of his friends, having gone into a house that overlooked York Garden, that they might salute him from the window, great offence was taken at it, while Lady Rich was ordered to confine herself to her house. Poor Lady Rich lost her lover also at this moment; Lord Mountjoy started for Ireland in the beginning of February.

Mr. Chamberlain gives a different version:—

22*nd February*, 1600.—You left us with so fair weather, and so confident an opinion that all should go well with my Lord of Essex, and that we should see him a cockhorse again, that I know it will be strange news to you to hear, that all was but a kind of dream, and a false paradise that his friends had feigned to themselves, giving their hopes and discourses liberty to outrun their wit; for the bright sunshine that seemed so to dazzle them was indeed but a glimmering light that was suddenly overshadowed again, and the sky as full of clouds as before; and though they thought they saw a reconciliation between him and Mr. Secretary, whereupon they built many idle fancies and liberal discoursings, yet either their eyes were not their own, or else they had false spectacles, that made every thing that was done seem more than double, for Mr. Secretary never spake with him since he was committed, but only carried his letter of submission that kept him from the Star Chamber; so that my Lord continues where he was, and, for aught I hear, is like enough to tarry there still. The Lady Rich hath been called coram

again about her letter, but she excused herself by sickness, and, as the Scottish man says, did not compeare.

Last of February.—My Lord of Essex hath been somewhat crazy this week. The Lord Keeper was sent for yesterday to the Court, whereupon his followers feed themselves fat with hope in this lean time of Lent.

5th March.—Babington, Bishop of Worcester, preaching at Court on Sunday last, made many proffers and glances in his (Essex's) behalf, as he was understood by the whole auditory, and by the Queen herself, who presently calling him to a reckoning for it, he flatly foreswore that he had any such meaning.

We now return to Rowland White.

10th March.—By Her Majesty's express command, Lady Leicester, Lord and Lady Southampton, Mr. Greville, Mr. Bacon, are all removed from Essex House; and this day my Lord of Essex is looked for there, to remain with two keepers, Sir Drue Drury and Sir Richard Barkely, and none to come to speak with him but by Her Majesty's leave. Whether my Lady shall remain with him, or come in daytime to him as she now doth, is not yet known.

On Maunday Thursday, 19th March, about eight o'clock at night, he was removed to Essex House; Sir Richard Barkely having all the keys, and his servant being porter; nobody to be admitted without leave; and Lady Essex only in the day. At the end of March, Lady Leicester obtained leave to see him.

These slight symptoms of returning kindness, or at least of decaying anger on the part of Elizabeth, together with the return of spirits with his restoration to health, induced Essex once more to try the effect of his pen in moving the Queen to still greater indulgences; he accordingly addressed her in one of

those exaggerated and flattering epistles which so gratified her vanity.

No. XXII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

That I presume now again, most dear and most admired Sovereign, to send mine humble letters unto your Majesty, these are the true causes. The experience of your Majesty's gracious, princely, and divine nature; the oppression of mine own heart-breaking, soul-fearing, and incomparable sorrow; the threatening of my obstructed body to fail me of his wonted ability to do your Majesty service, if it long continue in this course of life; and the warrant of mine own conscience, that I neither prize nor desire life itself, or any circumstance that belongs unto it, for other respect than for to expiate my former offences, to recover your Majesty's more than most precious favor, and to prove unto your Majesty that you have revived a servant whose humble and infinite affection cannot be matched; no, though all the men in the world had but one heart, or the hearts of all men had but one affection. To mediate for me to your Majesty, I neither have nor would have any; but to encourage me to be an unfortunate petitioner for myself, I have a lady, a nymph, or an angel[2], who, when all the world frowns upon me, cannot look with other than gracious eyes; and who, as she resembles your Majesty most of all creatures, so I know not by what warrant she doth promise more grace from your Majesty than I without your own warrant dare promise to myself. And therefore, if my importunity be presumptuous, your Majesty sees out of what root grows the presumption of your Majesty's humblest vassal,

4th April, 1600. ESSEX.

1 S. P. O.

2 This evidently refers to some image of the Queen: it may be *the ring!*

On the 12th we find he had a little more liberty in his own house, being no longer closely attended by Sir Richard Barkely. Lady Essex was a suitor for permission to live in the house with her husband, as Lady Walsingham was going to Barnelms. He often walked on the leads, and in the garden with his wife, reading alternately one to the other. Lady Essex was an accomplished person, and had a refined taste in literature: her society therefore, during this long period of confinement and anxiety, must here have afforded the greatest consolation to her husband; not a little increased by her capability of reading and enjoying with him the works of those authors who, during his stirring and exciting career of the last few years, had been neglected though not forgotten. On St. George's Day, Essex had leave to celebrate the feast by himself at his own house.

On the 10th May, however, Lady Essex's petition had not been granted; and she had gone to her mother at Barnelms, rather than take a lodging near Essex House, which might give offence to the Queen. He continued, as before, playing now and then at tennis, and walking on the leads and in the garden. He was much troubled also that, without his sanction, somebody printed his apology about the peace, which he had written two years before; and he sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, earnestly requesting him to suppress it. Of course this was a scheme of his enemies to keep alive the Queen's anger — Sir Walter Ralegh's, probably, who always appears the most active among them, and who, as we learn

from R. White, always fell sick when any new indulgence was granted to the Earl. Continued bad accounts of the state of Ireland tended to irritate the Queen. His next letter was probably intended to appease her.

No. XXIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Before all letters written in this hand be banished, or he that sends this enjoin himself eternal silence, be pleased, I humbly beseech your Majesty, to read over these humble lines. At sundry times, and by sundry messengers, I received these words as your Majesty's own, that you meant to correct, and not to ruin; since which time, when I languished in four months sickness, forfeited almost all that I was able to engage, felt the very pangs of death upon me, and saw that poor reputation, whatsoever it was that I enjoyed hitherto, not suffered to die with me, but buried, and I alive, I yet kissed your Majesty's fair correcting hand, and was confident in your royal word; for I said to myself, between my ruin and my Sovereign's favor there is no mean, and if she bestow favor again, she gives it with all things that in this world I either need or desire. But now the length of my troubles, and the continuance, or rather increase, of your Majesty's indignation, have made all men so afraid of me, as mine own poor state is not only ruined, but my kind friends and faithful servants are like to die in prison, because I cannot help myself with mine own. Now, I do not only feel the weight of your Majesty's indignation, and am subject to their malicious insinuations that first envied me for my happiness in your favor, and now hate me out of custom;

[1] S. P. O., a copy: as he complains in this of his letters being rejected, it is very probable the original was sent back to him.

but as if I were thrown into a corner like a dead carcase, I am gnawed on and torn by the vilest and basest creatures upon earth. The prating tavern haunter speaks of me what he lists; the frantic libeller writes of me what he lists; already they print me and make me speak to the world, and shortly they will play me in what forms they list upon the stage. The least of these is a thousand times worse than death. But this is not the worst of my destiny, for your Majesty that hath mercy for all the world but me, that hath protected from scorn and infamy all to whom you ever avowed favor but Essex, and never repented you of any gracious assurance you had given till now; your Majesty, I say, hath now, in this eighth month of my close imprisonment, as if you thought mine infirmities, beggary, and infamy too little punishment, rejected my letters, and refused to hear of me, which to traitors you never did. What therefore remaineth for me? only this, to beseech your Majesty, on the knees of my heart, to conclude my punishment, my misery, and my life all together, that I may go to my Saviour, who hath paid himself a ransom for me, and whom, methinks, I still hear calling me out of this unkind world, in which I have lived too long, and ever thought myself too happy. From your Majesty's humblest vassal,

12th May, 1600. ESSEX.

During the time of Essex's confinement, the Queen had frequently consulted Francis Bacon respecting his case, who had hitherto made many efforts to persuade Elizabeth to relax the severity of her treatment. He endeavoured to dissuade her from the declaration in the Star Chamber in November, telling her that the Earl possessed the pity of the people, and that such a course would lead them

to say, that my Lord was wounded in the back, and that Justice had her balance taken from her, which consisted ever in an accusation and defence. He advised her to restore the Earl to his former attendance. This advice was rejected; but, after Easter, she told Bacon that she found his words were true; that the proceedings in the Star Chamber, instead of doing good, had only kindled factious fruits; and that she was therefore determined now to proceed against the Earl in the Star Chamber by information, although what she did should not be *ad destructionem*, but only *ad castigationem;* not to render him unable to serve her hereafter. Here was a dilemma for Bacon. Was he to take a part against his generous and unflinching friend and patron, who had in misfortune a double claim to his services; or was he by refusing to forfeit the Queen's favour and his hopes of advancement? A man, I will not say of high principle, but a man possessing an ordinary sense of the claims of gratitude and honour, would not have hesitated an instant in deciding in favour of the unfortunate; I need scarcely inform the reader that Bacon, to his eternal shame, chose the other course. It is true he wrote a letter to the Queen, asking her, if she pleased, to spare him in my Lord of Essex's cause; but he took care to add, that, if she did not please, he was ready to serve her.

On the 5th June, 1600, the Earl of Essex was brought before an unconstitutional and novel tribunal at York House. The Court was composed of eighteen commissioners: — the Archbishop of Canterbury, the

Lord Keeper Egerton, the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, the Lord Admiral Nottingham; the Earls of Worcester, Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Huntingdon, Derby; Sir William Knollys, Sir Robert Cecyll, Sir John Fortescue; Lords Chief Justices Sir John Popham, Sir Edmund Anderson; Lord Chief Baron Sir William Periam; Justices Gawdy and Walmesley.

They sat from eight in the morning till nearly nine at night, in chairs at a long table, the upper end of which was left clear for the Earl. There was an auditory of about 200 persons, almost all men of quality, but of every kind and profession.

At the Earl's coming in, none of the Commissioners stirred cap, or gave any sign of courtesy. He knelt at the upper end of the table for a long time, without even a cushion: at length the Archbishop moved the other Commissioners, and he was allowed a cushion, but still continued on his knees until the end of the Queen's Serjeant's speech, when he was permitted to stand; and at a later period, at the instance of the Archbishop, was allowed a chair. He had a bundle of papers, which he sometimes held in his hand, sometimes laid in his hat, that was on the ground by him.

The Lord Keeper having stated the cause of their assembly, called upon the Queen's Serjeant, Christopher Yelverton, to open the information against him. His speech was a very short one, declaratory of the Queen's care and provision for Ireland, and her gracious dealings with the Earl before his going there, and especially now in this mode of procedure.

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He was followed by Attorney General Coke, who, in a characteristic speech, of great insolence and severity, laid open the substance of the charges. Of these there were five specially made against the Earl: that he had made the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse, in disobedience to the Queen's expressed command; that he went into Leinster and Munster, instead of prosecuting a journey against Tyrone, thereby wilfully and contemptuously disobeying the Queen; that he made so many knights; that he entered into conference with Tyrone on equal terms, which was dishonourable to Her Majesty, suspicious towards himself, and shameful in the conclusion; that he returned out of Ireland, contrary to Her Majesty's express command, which was also exceedingly dangerous, for he left the army in such a state that, but for God's providence, the whole kingdom had been ruined. These accusations were heightened by the free use of the bitter expressions of which the Attorney General was so great a master. Nor did he confine himself to these points: he considered the letter of Lady Rich to the Queen, which he characterised as insolent, saucy, and malapert, to be an aggravation of the offence; and at the end of his speech declared that Essex, notwithstanding all his vaunting letters and speeches, never intended to fight Tyrone.

To him succeeded Solicitor General Fleming, who pointed out the unhappy events that had followed the Earl's departure; by which it appeared how little good he had done there; that the traitor was grown

stronger, more confident, and more insolent than before.

Mr. Francis Bacon concluded the accusations. After considering the Earl's journey into Ireland, he pressed two points not spoken of before. The first of these was the Earl's letter to the Lord Keeper in 1598; which letter, containing very bold and presumptuous passages, derogatory to Her Majesty, had been published. Those which he particularly insisted on were these: "There is no tempest to the passionate "indignation of a prince," as if Her Majesty were devoid of reason, and carried away by passion; and "Her Majesty's heart was obdurate," by which he compared her to Pharoah, which was very odious. The other point of his accusation was the Earl's patronage of Hayward's book of Henry IV., he only writing a formal letter to the Archbishop, coldly desiring him to call in the book after it had been published a week.

All the Lords admired the carriage of the Earl, who showed no emotion at any thing said against him, but heard all with patience; and when the Counsel had finished, he began to speak, kneeling, to this effect, using great discretion and mildness. "That "ever since the Queen had changed the course of pro- "ceeding against him, he had resolved to give up all "attempt to justify himself, but to acknowledge, with "grief and contrition, whatever faults of error, negli- "gence, or rashness, it pleased Her Majesty to impute "to him." This first part of his speech being uttered with great passion, and very well and forcibly ex-

pressed, drew tears from part of the audience, who lamented to see the minion of Fortune reduced to so great misery and humiliation.

The Attorney General having however charged him with disloyalty in the expression he used, *Regina vidit, consul vidit, senatus vidit, hic tamen vivit*, he said that he was forced to alter the determination with which he came, not to justify himself. But now that his honour and loyalty were called in question, "I "shall do God great wrong," said he, "and my own "conscience, if I do not justify myself an honest man; "and this hand shall pull out this heart, when any "disloyal thought shall enter it." He was then proceeding to clear himself of any suspicion of disloyalty, when the Lord Keeper interrupted him, saying, that he need not fear the charge of disloyalty, as the course taken against him might show, that he was only accused of contempt and disobedience; that if he desired to persuade them that he had indeed disobeyed, but without a purpose of disobeying, that was frivolous and absurd.

The Lords then commenced their censures. First the Lord Treasurer, who, clearing the Earl from all suspicion of disloyalty, refused to entertain divers of his other excuses.

Sir Robert Cecyll, by reason of his office, spoke next, who showed more courtesy to the Earl than any other, and gave him due credit. He said, the whole fault of the bad success in Ireland lay in that ominous journey into Munster; that the Earl in all his journeys did nothing but make circles of errors,

which were all bound up in the knot of his disobedient return.

The Archbishop asked a question about the toleration in religion said to have been promised to Tyrone. The Earl thanked his Grace for moving that point, which was indeed a thing that had been mentioned by Tyrone, but never yielded by him; to whom he had plainly said, "Hang thee up, thou carest for "religion as much as my horse."

In answer to a remark of the Lord Admiral, Essex said that he returned, hoping for the Queen's pardon, as she had formerly pardoned the Earl of Leicester, who came out of Holland contrary to her letter. Cecyll denied that any such letter had ever been written to the Earl of Leicester.

Justice Walmesley remarked, "Prisoners at our "bars are more graceless; they will not confess their "faults." He compared "my Lord his coming home, "to a shepherd leaving his flock to the care of a dog."

Then the Lord Keeper summed up in a long and eloquent speech, ending thus: "If this cause had "been heard in the Star Chamber, my sentence must "have been so great a fine as ever was set upon any "man's head in that Court, and perpetual imprison-"ment in that place which belongeth to a man of his "quality, that is, the Tower; but now we are in "another place, and in a course of favour, my censure "is, that he is not to execute the office of a councillor, "nor to hold himself for a councillor of estate, nor "to execute the office of Earl Marshal of England, "nor of Master of the Ordnance, and to return to his

" own house, there to continue a prisoner as before,
" till it shall please Her Majesty to release both this
" and all the rest."

The rest all followed in like manner, except only the Earl of Worcester, who cited these two verses:

Scilicet a superis etiam fortuna luenda est,
Nec veniam, læso numine, casus habet.

Even for our fortune Gods may cast us down,
Neither can chance excuse, if a God frown.

The Earl of Cumberland said, that if he thought that censure would stand, he would crave more time, for he thought it somewhat heavy, seeing how easily a General might incur the like; but, in confidence of Her Majesty's mercy, he would concur.

Lord Zouch would, however, give no other censure than that which he thought the Earl would lay on himself; to refrain from executing his offices, and remain in his house until Her Majesty released all.

They all appeared to entertain a confident assurance that the Queen would speedily release him from this censure. However, it was a month before his keeper was removed from him.

Besides the printed accounts from which the above is chiefly taken, we have a letter to Walter Bagot, which shows what was thought of Bacon's conduct, and likewise informs us that Sir Walter Ralegh was in disgrace at this time.

No. XXIV.[1]

Ralph Adderley to Walter Bagot.

Sir,—On Thursday last my Lord of Essex was at York House before the Lords of the Council and other Lords, as four Earls, two Barons, two Serjeants at Law, the Queen's Attorney, and Bacon, who shewed himself a pretty fellow; and answered them all, wholly without any touch[2], but only in some disloyalty towards Her Majesty. They would have had him to have confessed those articles which are aggravated against him in the Star Chamber, but my Lord yielded to nothing, but only submitted himself to Her Majesty. It is doubtful he shall lose his offices some of them; but they would have all stand, as yet stand, at Her Majesty's pleasure, and he is at his own house, as he was before. There were some that said they would move Her Majesty for my Lord's liberty, and that was Mr. Secretary; and he said he did not doubt but to bring a discharge before it were long, which God grant it may be; I doubt he spake not as he meant. My Lord is merry, and in health, thanks be to God! He was at York House from eight of the clock in the morning until almost nine at night, without either meat or drink. He kneeled two hours by the clock. They would have had him to have stood, but he would not, so long so as the matter was in talk betwixt Her Majesty and him. The Lord Grey is gone over into the Low Countries. Ralegh is gone into the country with bag and baggage, as wife and children; and Her Majesty called him worse than cat and dog. I pray you impart some of this news to my cousin Trew; I would have written, but the messenger would not stay; so with my hearty commendations to yourself, your bedfellow, aunt, cousin Okeover, with Lettice,

[1] Blithfield MSS. Walter Bagot was the eldest son of Richard Bagot.

[2] Peevishness, or irritability.

Mrs. Mary, Mrs. Trew, and Mr. Anthony, I leave you to the protection of the Almighty. London, in haste, this 9th of June, 1600. Assuredly yours,

RALPH ADDERLEY.

Mr. Adderley does not appear to trust much to the sincerity of Sir Robert Cecyll. I am not able to decide the question, whether he was in secret the promoter of the scorns and degradations which were driving the unhappy Essex to madness; but it is fair to give the Secretary any evidence we have in his favour. There is among the Harl. MSS. a letter, said to be written by Sir Robert Cecyll to one Squire, a servant of the Earl of Essex, containing "advice for the latter, "being in the Queen's disgrace in anno 1600, 42 Eliz." He says of Essex, "To wish him to change from one "humour to another, were but as if for the cure of a "man in pain, one should advise him to lie upon the "other side. If from a sanguine delightful humour "of love, he turn to the melancholy retired humour "of contemplation, or a turbulent boiling humour of "war, what doth he but change tyrants. Contem- "plation is a dream, love is a trance, and the humour "of war is raving. For his love let it not so disarm "his heart within that it make him too credulous of "favour, nor too tender in unkindness, nor too apt "to depend on the heart he knoweth; yea, in his "demonstration of love, let him not go too far. "These silly lovers, when they profess such infinite "affection and obligation, they tax themselves at so "high a rate, as they are ever under arrest: it makes "their service seem nothing, and the least cavil a "great imputation.

" In his counsel let him not be confident, for that " will make him obnoxious to success. But let him " follow the wisdom of oracles, where this was uttered, " that might apply to the event; and ever rather let " him take the side which is likeliest to be followed, " than the soundest, least every thing should seem " to be carried by his direction."

Here must be mentioned the last letter that has come under my observation from Anthony Bacon to Essex. It is said to be written after 4th June, 1600, and is a letter of friendly advice to Essex not to despair; arguing that the Queen was forced by the reports that he was condemned unheard, to adopt the harsh measures against him that she had taken; he hints, also, that the "piquant letter" of Lady Rich to the Queen was another cause for the severity of his treatment. He says that his brother Francis Bacon, who, he thinks, "is too wise to be abused, and " too honest to abuse," assured him with "great " asseveration," that both days, both that of the Star Chamber and that at the Lord Keeper's, "were " wound from the Queen merely upon necessity and " points of honour, against her inclination;" and urges him not to despair, but, next to God, to trust in Her Majesty's favour.

Essex replies to this letter. He says that Anthony Bacon's letter "persuades that which he wishes " strongly but hopes weakly;" that Bacon's arguments only make him despair the more; for the fact of the Queen having done against him that which she did not wish, only shows the power of others.

He thanks God that they "who can make Her Majesty "believe I counterfeit with her, cannot make God "believe I counterfeit with Him;" for his brother Francis, he assures him, he thinks no worse of him for what he had done against him, than of my Lord Chief Justice: "yourself," he adds, "I know, have "suffered more for me than any friend I have."[1]

The next letter from Essex to the Queen refers to the late trial, which took place on a Thursday.

No. XXV.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

If I had lost no more but liberty, health, the sinews of my private state, and offices that give anxiety and reputation in the world, most dear and most admired Sovereign, I should pass the remnant of my wearisome life in silence. But I have lost more than I could heretofore tell how to prize, or any man hereafter will be worthy to enjoy. I sustain more weight than the law lays upon him who refuseth to answer law; for that outward weight lies upon the body a short time, and frees the soul for ever: the sense I have of the inward weight of your Maj.'s indignation is above all bodily pains, and yet suffereth me to live; who now having heard the voice of your Maj.'s justice do humbly crave to hear your own proper and natural voice of grace, or else that your Maj. in mercy will send me into another world. It is not restitution of anything that Thursday took from me that I long after, for *Domina dedit, Domina abstulit, fiat voluntas Dominæ;* but after the end of the life, or the punishment of your Majesty's humblest vassal,

ESSEX.

[1] Add. MSS. 4130. f. 50. [2] S. P. O.

"The verses made by the Earl of Essex in his "trouble," is the title of one of the many similar effusions with which the noble prisoner may have endeavoured to while away the tedious hours of solitude and confinement.

The ways on earth have paths and turnings known,
The ways on sea are gone by needle's light,
The birds of heaven the nearest ways have flown,
And under earth the moles do cast aright:
A way more hard than those I needs must take,
Where none can teach, nor no man can direct,
Where no man's good for me example makes,
But all men's faults do teach her to suspect.
Her thoughts and mine such disproportion have;
All strength of love is infinite in me;
She useth the advantage time and fortune gave
Of worth and power to get the liberty.
Earth, sea, heaven, hell, are subject unto laws;
But I! poor I! must suffer and know no cause.[1]

R. White informs us, that Sir Robert Cecyll continued to use his good offices with the Queen, although no reconciliation had taken place between him and the Earl, nor was desired by either. Mr. Chamberlain's letters give us more particularly the proceedings which were continued against Essex after the meeting at York House, by which the Queen endeavoured "to break his proud spirit."

23*rd June*, 1600.—I was yesterday at the Star Chamber upon report of some special matter that should be determined

[1] Bibl. Reg. MS. Brit. Mus. 17. B. L.

touching my Lord of Essex, when the Lord Keeper made a very grave speech in nature of a charge to the Judges, to look to the overgrowing idle multitude of justices of peace: to maintainers and abettors of causes and suits: to solicitors and pettifoggers: to gentlemen that leave housekeeping and hospitality, and hide themselves in cities and borough towns: to the vanity and excess of women's apparel: to forestallers and regrators of markets: to drunkards and disorderly persons: to masterless men and other companions, that make profession to live by their sword and by their wit: to discoursers and meddlers in princes' matters: and, lastly, to libellers: on occasion whereof he fell to a digression how mercifully Her Majesty had dealt with the Earl of Essex, in proceeding with him so mildly, and by a private hearing; whereas, if he had been brought to that place, he could not have passed without a heavy censure, the avoiding whereof must only be imputed to God and Her Majesty's clemency, upon an humble letter that he wrote the night before he was to appear, that she should be pleased to let that bitter cup pass from him; but yet to satisfy the world, and to stop the slanders that gave out he was condemned *causa inaudita*, she was to justify her proceedings, and call him before her Council, and others of her ancient nobility, to answer his contempt and misgovernment; where he behaved himself so wisely and so humbly, confessing his errors with tears, and saying that the tears of his heart had quenched all the sparkles of pride that were in him, that it was great satisfaction to the assistance, and no doubt would procure Her Majesty's further favour towards him.

This was the substance, and in part the very words, of that delivered more at large; so that now we look every day when he shall have the liberty of Barnelms, for I think his first step will be no farther, whatever he do afterward.

1*st July.*—The Queen was very vehement the last week to degrade some of my Lord of Essex's Irish knights, specially such as were made after a certain letter she wrote, that he should make no more, which arise to some thirty-nine[1], and would touch some of our friends' freehold: it should have been done by way of a proclamation, which was signed on Wednesday last; but Mr. Secretary made great means to dissuade Her Majesty from that course by many reasons, but specially that she should wrestle with the Great Seal of England, and bring the authority thereof in question; whereupon it was suspended, and lies still in the desk, and so like to lie; for I hear my L. of Essex is gone to my Lord Keeper's at York House, to appear before him, the Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Secretary, and there to be discharged of his keeper, but yet to keep his own house, and to have no more access than of his own people.

Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, on the 5th July, says, that Essex is sick of an ague, and sees nobody but Lady Essex; and had, by order, dismissed Sir Gilly Meyrick and Sir Harry Linley. His sister, Lady Rich, was also confined to her house; while the Countess of Northumberland was constantly at Court, and very graciously received.

Essex now earnestly prayed for permission to retire into the country, either to Grafton, or to Grays, the house of his uncle, Sir William Knollys, in Oxfordshire.

The next letter is that which he wrote, thanking the Queen for having released him from the custody of his keeper.

[1] The list of knights made in Ireland has eighty-one names. S. P. O.

No. XXVI.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Rather think him dead, most dear and most admired Sovereign, that since Tuesday, at four of the clock, hath sent you no acknowledgment of your goodness, grace, and mercy, than that his duty and thankfulness could take days, yea, or admit hours or minutes, of delay. But violent fever possesseth your Maj. servant every other day, groweth still upon me, and leaveth me in charge to such pains in my weak head, as neither will my brains undertake to indite, nor mine eyes willingly assent to any light which shall direct my hand in writing. Therefore, dear and gracious Lady, I must be silent, though my heart boils within me for lack of an interpreter to deliver the most lowly, zealous, faithful, and matchless thankfulness of your Majesty's humblest vassal,

ESSEX.

In the month of July, the Queen intended making a progress, during which she was to visit Tottenham, the seat of the Earl of Hertford. Essex renewed his applications to obtain his perfect freedom before her departure, and wrote, as we are told, "now and then" to the Queen. The two next letters belong to this period of suspense.

No. XXVII.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

In this long trance, most dear and most admired Sovereign, I must sometimes move, look up, and speak, that your Majesty may know your servant lives. I live, though sick in spirit unto the death, yet moan not for impatience, as com-

[1] S. P. O. [2] Ibid.

monly sick men do. I look up to your Majesty, on earth my only physician; yet look for no physic till you, in your deepest wisdom and gracious favor, shall think the crisis past, and the time fit for a cure. I speak not the words of my lips, but the words of my heart, yet cannot utter that which most concerns me, and should give my full heart the greatest ease. Therefore, I say to myself, lie still, look down, and be silent; your Majesty never buried alive any creature of your favour, and hath past your princely word, that your correction is not intended for the ruin of your Majesty's humblest vassal, pining, languishing, despairing,

26th July, 1600. ESSEX.

No. XXVIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Pardon, oh! pardon, most dear and most admired Sovereign, the freedom of this speech, for passion speaks, and I have no longer power to strive against it. If your Majesty dismiss me into the country, as banished from your presence again, company, health, yea, life itself, will be, nay, shall be, hateful to me. I receive no grace, your Majesty shews no mercy. But if your Majesty will vouchsafe to let me once prostrate myself at your feet, and behold your fair and gracious eyes, though it be unknown to all the world but to him that your Majesty shall appoint to bring me to that paradise; yea, though afterwards your Majesty punish me, imprison me, or pronounce the sentence of death against me, your Majesty is most merciful, and I shall be most happy. That house will make your Majesty remember what I was; and this favour shall make your Majesty know both what I am, and what I will be: for your Majesty shall find that, by my fall, I am come to know both good and evil.

[1] S. P. O.

Pardon, oh! pardon, most dear Lady, for my words are, as my thoughts, confused. But if your Majesty will be pleased to assign me to any man, I will commit myself unto him; and upon my life I will pass to the place which he shall appoint me, and from thence afterwards to Ewelme Lodge, without discovery. And your Majesty's answer is . . . . . or mortifying to your Majesty's humblest vassal,

ESSEX.

On the 26th August, Essex had been called up to York House before the Lord Keeper, Treasurer, and Secretary, who signified to him the Queen's pleasure that he should have his liberty. This letter, therefore, was written immediately after that event, and is his first effort towards obtaining the next important step, admission to the royal presence. Her reply to this, however, was, that though she had given him his liberty, he still remained under her indignation, and was, on no account, to presume to approach the Court. He consequently retired to Ewelme Lodge in the beginning of September; Lady Rich being at the same time released, went to Lees, her husband's seat, to attend him, who was at the time dangerously ill. As she had borne children to Lord Mountjoy, with whom her connection had been notorious for some years, this conduct shows how remarkably easy Lord Rich's sense of honour was; or what would be yet more contemptible and disgraceful, that he sanctioned his wife's *liaison*, and now, during Mountjoy's absence, gave her welcome home. No wonder she rewarded such vile complaisance with the deepest scorn.

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

FRANCIS BACON ENDEAVOURS TO EXPLAIN HIS CONDUCT. — ESSEX'S REPLY. — VAIN ENDEAVOURS TO OBTAIN ACCESS. — CONSIDERATION OF HIS CONDUCT IN IRELAND. — RENEWAL OF HIS LEASE OF SWEET WINES REFUSED. — HIS LAST LETTER, THREATENING TO ENTER THE ROYAL PRESENCE IN ARMOUR. — ESSEX HOUSE THROWN OPEN. — DAILY PREACHINGS. — HIS FRIENDS HOLD MEETINGS AT DRURY HOUSE. — IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE INSURRECTION. — THE LORD KEEPER GOES TO ESSEX HOUSE, — VAIN ATTEMPT TO RAISE THE CITY. — ESSEX HOUSE IS INVESTED. — ESSEX SURRENDERS, AND WITH HIS PRINCIPAL FRIENDS IS SENT TO THE TOWER.

LET us pause here for a few moments to consider the conduct of Francis Bacon before the Lords at York House, where he had seized upon some impatient expressions in Essex's letter to the Lord Keeper, and the dedication of Hayward's book concerning Henry IV., and endeavoured to aggravate them into grievous offences. Soon after the Earl was relieved from the custody of Sir Richard Barkely he received the following letter from Bacon; his reply to which merits particular attention, so dignified, so gentle, so free from reproach, or rather in its very gentleness so full of reproach, it appeals infinitely more to our feelings in favour of Essex, than those exaggerated passionate letters which he addressed to the Queen.

No. XXIX.[1]

Francis Bacon to Essex.

My Lord,—No man can expound my doings better than your Lordship, which makes me need to say the less; only I humbly pray you to believe that I aspire to the conscience and commendation of *bonus civis* and *bonus vir*, and that though I love some things better, I confess, than I love your Lordship, yet I love few persons better, both for gratitude's sake, and for virtues which cannot hurt but by accident. Of which my good affection, it may please your Lordship to assure yourself of all the true effects and offices that I can yield; for, as I was ever sorry your Lordship should fly with waxen wings, doubting Icarus' fortune; so for the growing up of your own feathers, be they ostriches or other kind, no man shall be more glad; and this is the axletree whereupon I have turned and shall turn. Which, having already signified unto you by some near means, having so fit a messenger for mine own letter, I thought good to redouble also my writing. And so I commend you to God's protection. From Gray's Inn, July 19. 1600, &c.

FRA. BACON.

No. XXX.[2]

The Earl's Reply.

Mr. Bacon,—I can neither expound nor censure your late actions, being ignorant of all of them, save one; and having directed my sight inward only, to examine myself. You do pray me to believe that you only aspire to the conscience and commendation of *bonus civis* and *bonus vir;* and I do faithfully assure you that, while that is your ambition, though your course be action and mine contemplative,

[1] Works, xii. 24. [2] Ibid. 111.

yet we shall both *convenire in eodem tertio*, and *convenire inter nos ipsos*. Your profession of affection, and offer of good offices, are welcome to me; for answer to them, I will say but this, that you have believed that I have been kind to you; and you may believe that I cannot be other, either upon humor or mine own election. I am a stranger to all poetical conceits, or else I should say somewhat of your poetical example. But this I must say, that I never flew with other wings than to desire to merit, and confidence in my sovereign's favor; and when one of these wings failed me, I would light no where but at my sovereign's feet, though she suffered me to be bruised with my fall. And till Her Majesty, that knows I was never bird of prey, finds it to agree with her will and her service that my wings should be imped again, I have committed myself to the mew. No power but my God's and my sovereign's can alter this resolution of your retired friend,

ESSEX.

The Earl of Essex continued his prayers to the Queen for permission to kiss her hand. Francis Bacon, who had constant access to her during this period, says that he constantly took and gave occasions "for my Lord's redintegration in his fortunes;" but the Queen used to say, that he had long tried her anger, and she must have farther proof of his humility. Sir Henry Neville, writing from London on the 9th September, tells Mr. Winwood that there are many arguments that the Queen begins to relent towards him, and to wish to have him near her.

Two of Essex's letters to Elizabeth at this time are worth laying before the reader.

No. XXXI.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Haste paper to that happy presence, whence only unhappy I am banished; kiss that fair correcting hand which lays new plasters to my lighter hurts, but to my greatest wound applieth nothing. Say thou comest from pining, languishing, despairing,

ESSEX.

No. XXXII.[2]

Essex to the Queen.

Words, if you can, express my hearty thankfulness; but press not, sue not, move not, least passion prompt you, and I by you both be betrayed. Report my silence, my solitariness, my sighs, but not my hopes, my fears, my desires; for mine uttermost ambition is to be a mute person in that presence where joy and wonder would bar speech. From the greatest lady's, in favour and goodness, humblest, mute vassal,

Sept. 9. 1600. ESSEX.

Sometimes he cheered his solitude and banishment (for, as Sir Robert Cecyll observed, he walked forth alone without greeting from his summer friends) by addressing himself to the Muses, as in these lines:—

Happy were he could finish forth his fate
In some enchanted desert, most obscure
From all society, from love, from hate
Of worldly folk, then would he sleep secure;
Then wake again and yield God ever praise,
Content with hips and haws and bramble-berries,

[1] Add. MSS. 9828. f. 6. [2] Ibid. f. 5. Orig.

In contemplation passing still his days,
And change of holy thoughts to make him merry;
And when he dies his tomb may be a bush,
Where harmless robin dwells with gentle thrush;
Quoth Robertus Comes Essexiæ.[1]

Before we dismiss the Irish service and its results, it will be proper to consider how far the conduct of the Earl of Essex deserved the bitter reproaches, the severe punishment, and the humiliations to which it had been the Queen's pleasure to subject him.

If conduct in an enterprise is to be measured solely by its success, then assuredly Essex deserved all, for with large means he had made no greater progress towards the subduing to order and obedience the inhabitants of Ireland than had any of his predecessors in the same office. But as it appears that both physically and morally it was a task impossible to achieve in so short a time, we must acquit him of blame merely for his want of success. What possibility was there, by any means in his power, to instil loyalty into the breasts of an entire population, who, from the noble to the kerne, hated the yoke of English rule; and if they submitted in the presence of superior strength to acknowledge the Queen of England as their sovereign, never failed, the instant the pressure was removed, to relapse into rebellion or sedition. What were 16,000 soldiers, or double that number, to achieve against an enemy that never appeared in the open field, except under most favourable conditions, or accidentally? What were troops trained

[1] Bodl. Libr. Tanner MSS. 79.

to act in bodies, heavily loaded with arms and provisions, to achieve against a horde of enemies, who, scarcely clothed, lightly armed, and unburthened, never left the shelter of their woods and morasses; but from a hole in a peat bog, or from behind a tree, would watch the favourable moment for harassing and annoying them, and cutting off a straggling man or cart of provisions. No wonder the raw levies were discouraged; no wonder the patience of their impetuous general was exhausted.

Commanded as he was to listen to the advice of his Council, he was not to be blamed for deferring the Ulster journey; ignorant of the country, he could not be aware that the reasons given by them to induce him to go were untrue or exaggerated; and, indeed, the delay was approved of by the Queen's Council in their letter of the 8th May. But, unquestionably, his conduct in treating with Tyrone was a great fault; having been warned in his instructions that it was probable the traitor would desire, as he had before, to be received as a good subject; and directed in that event only to receive him "on simple submission" to the Queen's mercy; although, in the subsequent part of the same instructions, his power to deal with the rebel was enlarged; there is no excuse for the haste with which he patched up a truce, and, dismissing the army, quitted the government without any guarantees that the peace would be observed.

Then, again, his obstinacy about the Earl of Southampton must have been personally offensive to the

Queen; he had been ordered to be circumspect in the use of his power of creating knights, and made the extravagant number of eighty-one: he had received an order not to come over to England without license; though of this act of disobedience, as the prohibition was only meant to refer to the period of alarm about a Spanish invasion, we do not think so much; but all were handles which he himself made for the use of his enemies.

Yet these errors and offences would never have been visited with that severe treatment, had he not lost his place in the heart of the Queen. That this was the cause there can be no doubt, from the caprice and personal acrimony which was exhibited towards him. How this occurred is not so easy of explanation. Queen Elizabeth was haughty and imperious, jealous, selfish, and vain; whether she had at length become tired of the violent methods which Essex used to gain his ends with her, and resolved to shake off his influence; whether she dreaded and disliked his popular reputation, and was resolved to pull him down; or whether she had discovered that the warmth of his attachment to her person, and his admiration of her beauty, were simulated; or whether all these feelings and passions were mingled, and kept constantly alive by the arts of his enemies; it is quite certain that personal feeling had, at least, an equal share in his treatment with public motives.

In fact, the conduct of Elizabeth with regard to Essex during this period was rather that of a vengeful woman than of a justly incensed Queen. It is quite evi-

dent, by retaining him in the place which brought him into close personal attendance on her, that his ultimate restoration to favour was in her mind; yet so complete was her ignorance of his character, that, pushing her rigour one step too far, she deeply wounded that haughty spirit, and brought his fiery and ungovernable passions to the aid of the mischievous and evil counsels, which speedily wrought his ruin.

As he had not been excluded from performing the duties of his office of Master of the Horse, both Essex and his friends entertained confident hopes that he would soon be restored to favour. He accordingly continued to write to the Queen in the most humble strain, that he kissed her fair hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him; that he would retire into a country solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the "beasts of the field; let me eat grass as an ox, "and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall "please Her Majesty to restore me to my under-"standing." With this the Queen was much pleased, and said that she hoped his words and deeds would agree; that he had long tried her patience, and she had reasonably tried his humility; but yet she did not grant the desired audience.

The monopoly of the importation of sweet wines which had been granted to Essex at the death of the Earl of Leicester, expired at Michaelmas in this year[1]; by the renewal or refusal of this patent, Essex resolved to determine whether the Queen

[1] 1600.

intended to restore him to her favour, or to reduce him to degradation and poverty. This was the turning point of his fate; unhappily for him the Queen, whose severe temper caused her to listen favourably to the insinuations of his enemies, that he had not yet been sufficiently humbled, first deferred, then refused to renew his patent. Her speech to Francis Bacon shows by what feelings she was actuated; that my Lord had written her some very dutiful letters, and that she had been moved by them; but when she took it to be the abundance of his heart, she found it to be but a preparation to a suit for the renewing of his farm of sweet wines.

On receiving his application, she first said that she would see what it was; that such good turns were not to be bestowed blindfold; again, that the more one feeds corrupt and diseased bodies, the more one hurts them; and, lastly, she declared, that the ungovernable beast must be stinted of his provender; and informed him that she intended to reserve that farm for her own use.

The letter which follows contains the suit of the Earl for the renewal of his patent.

No. XXXIII.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

If conscience did not tell me, that, without imploring your Majesty's goodness at this time, most dear and most admired Sovereign, I should not only lose the present support of my poor estate, but the hope of any ability to do your Majesty

[1] S. P. O.

future service, and not that alone, but the means of satisfying a great number of hungry and annoying creditors, which suffer me in my retired life to have no rest; I would appear still before your Majesty as a mute person. But since this day se'night, the lease which I hold by your Majesty's beneficence expireth, and that farm is both my chiefest maintenance and mine only means of compounding with the merchants to whom I am indebted; give me leave, I humbly beseech your Majesty, to suit that canon to yourself which I received from yourself, your Majesty's courses tend *ad correctionem, non ad ruinam.* If my creditors will take for payment many ounces of my blood, or the taking away of this farm would only for want finish my body, your Majesty should never hear of this suit. For in myself I find no boldness to importune, and from myself I can draw no argument to solicit. The only suit which I can make willingly, and must make continually unto your Majesty is, that you will once again look with gracious eyes upon your Majesty's humblest, faithfullest, and more than most devoted vassal,

22nd Sept. 1600. ESSEX.

There are other letters of this period, in which Essex prays only for admission to the presence; of which the following is one.

No. XXXIV.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

If I should as often present your Majesty, most dear and most admired Sovereign, with mine humble lines, as mine oppressed spirit would disburthen itself, I should be presumptuous and importunate; if I should as seldom write as

[1] S. P. O.

your Maj. gives me encouragement, I should be dumb and desperate; and I am confident that your Maj. inseparable justice in both kinds pleadeth for me. When you say, Why is Essex silent? your Maj. answers yourself, His infinitely affectionate heart is overawed with duty. When your Maj. saith, How dare he write now? you likewise answer, His present fear is overcome by passion. By passion I say, tyrannous to me, but reverent to your Maj. Out of that passion my soul cries out unto your Maj. for grace, for access, and for an end of this exile. If your Maj. grant this suit, you are most gracious, whatsoever else you deny or take away. If this cannot be obtained, I must doubt whether that the means to preserve life, and the granted liberty, have been favours or punishments; for till I may appear in your gracious presence, and kiss your Majesty's fair correcting hand, time itself is a perpetual night, and the whole world but a sepulchre unto your Majesty's humblest vassal,

18th Oct. 1600. ESSEX.

In October, Mr. Chamberlain wrote twice to Mr. Carleton, that the "Earl continued in London and at "Barnelms; that his friends were sanguine of his "speedy restoration to favour, which (says he) you "may believe as much of as you list, but I ne'er "a whit: for till I see his license for sweet wines "renewed, that expired at Michaelmas, or some other "substantial favour answerable to it, I shall esteem "words as wind and holy water of courts."

Essex did not yet resign all hope; and we have a letter of the 17th November, the anniversary of the Queen's accession, in which he makes a last earnest effort to be received by her.

No. XXXV.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

Vouchsafe, dread Sovereign, to know there lives a man, though dead to the world, and in himself exercised with continued torments of mind and body, that doth more true honor to your thrice blessed day, than all those that appear in your sight. For no soul had ever such an impression of your perfections, no alteration shewed such an effect of your power, nor no heart ever felt such a joy of your triumph. For they that feel the comfortable influence of your Majesty's favor, or stand in the bright beams of your presence, rejoice partly for your Majesty's, but chiefly for their own, happiness.

Only miserable Essex, full of pain, full of sickness, full of sorrow, languishing in repentance for his offences past, hateful to himself that he is yet alive, and importunate on death, if your sentence be irrevocable, he joys only for your Majesty's great happiness and happy greatness; and were the rest of his days never so many, and sure to be as happy as they are like to be miserable, he would lose them all to have this happy seventeenth day many and many times renewed with glory to your Majesty, and comfort of all your faithful subjects, of whom none is accursed but your Majesty's humblest vassal,

ESSEX.

I shall offer to my readers but one more letter from our unfortunate Earl. It is an undated, but an original letter; and extremely remarkable, as pointing plainly to that course which brought his head to the block — the entering by force into the royal presence. There is a difficulty presented by his reference to

[1] Birch, ii. 462.

having seen the Queen, which may be thus explained. After his release from confinement, the Countess of Warwick, a lady of great influence at Court, and a fast friend to Essex, had advised him to take an obscure lodging at Greenwich; and watching an occasion when the Queen should go forth in good humour, of which she would give him notice, to present and humble himself before her. This advice is said to have sunk deep into the mind of the Earl, who had resolved to follow it, but was dissuaded by Cuffe, who assured him he was only preparing additional disgrace and humiliation for himself. It is, however, possible that he may have presented himself and have been spurned, and, in the absence of dates, I adopt this idea.

No. XXXVI.[1]

Essex to the Queen.

This is but one of the many letters which, since I saw your Maj., I wrote, but never sent unto you; for, to write freely to a Lady that lies in wait for all things that I do or say, were too much hazard: to write in a plausible style, when I have so discontented a heart, were baseness, if not falsehood. To be silent, and to put myself suddenly into a new course of life, might be thought lightness, too much melancholy, and I know not what. By this description your Maj. seeth the state of my mind, full of confusion and contrariety. I sometimes think of running, and then remember what it will be to come in armour triumphing into that presence, out of which both by your own voice I was com-

[1] Hulton MSS

manded, and by your hands thrust out. But God knows this is no sudden accident. You may tell those that thirst and gape after my ruin, that you have now an advantage, that, being in passion, I spake rashly. It is well you have that you looked for, and so have I. In holding me as you have done of late, you pleased nobody. In making this conclusion of my fortune, you shall please those you seem to favor most. But *siste calame, plura de extremis loqui, pars ignava est, et incusare deos vel homines, ejus qui vivere velit.*

From this moment Essex resigned all hope of regaining the Queen's favour, and gave himself up to rage and despair. Sir John Harrington says, "he "shifteth from sorrow and repentance to rage and "rebellion so suddenly, as well proveth him devoid "of good reason as of right mind. In my last "discourse he uttered strange words, bordering on "such strange designs, that made me hasten forth "and leave his presence. Thank heaven, I am safe "at home, and if I go in such troubles again, I "deserve the gallows for a meddling fool. His "speeches of the Queen become no man who hath "*mens sana in corpore sano.* He hath ill-advisers, "and much evil hath sprung from this source. The "Queen well knoweth how to humble the haughty "spirit; the haughty spirit knoweth not how to "yield, and the man's soul seemeth tossed to and fro, "like the waves of a troubled sea."[1]

How well these words depict the distracted state of mind, bordering on insanity, to which Essex was reduced. He had humbled himself in a manner which

[1] Nugæ Ant. 179

must have been gall and bitterness to his proud heart, and all in vain; his most passionate and pathetic appeals were repulsed with harsh words, or contemptuously left unanswered. Those fiery passions, which had been with difficulty restrained for a time, now burst through all control, and he gave vent to his feelings in such wild and threatening language, with such insulting expressions touching the Queen herself, as alarmed all his friends; while, by his enemies, they were carefully collected, to be made use of in the furtherance of their own designs. Sir Walter Ralegh, than whom no one can offer better testimony on this point, said, that the expression of Essex, that the Queen was cankered, and that her mind had become as crooked as her carcass, cost him his head; which his insurrection had not cost him but for that speech.[1]

In order to arrive at a clear understanding of the origin of the intrigues which led to so miserable an end, we must go back to the period when Essex was first consigned to the custody of the Lord Keeper in the autumn of 1599. He committed the care of his interests at that time to his two most dear and intimate friends, the Earl of Southampton and Lord Mountjoy. When he was threatened with committal to the Tower, and trial in the Star Chamber, these noblemen were anxiously considering how to relieve him from the excessive severities with which he was menaced. Several plans were considered, among

[1] Prerogative of Parliaments, Ralegh's works.

others, that he should make his escape into France: that he should call for the assistance of his friends in Wales: that he should take possession of the Court, to enable him to gain access to the Queen. It was at last resolved, that the first was the most advisable course for Essex to follow; and Southampton found means to convey this decision to him, with an offer that he and Sir Henry Davers would accompany him, and share his fortunes in a foreign land. But this advice Essex absolutely refused to follow, saying that he would rather run any danger than live the life of a poor fugitive.

During the previous summer, while Essex was in Ireland, Mountjoy had sent an agent to Scotland, to assure King James that Lord Essex entertained none of those ambitious views which his enemies had ascribed to him, but was most desirous that his Majesty should be declared successor to Queen Elizabeth during her life. When Mountjoy was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, being unwilling to leave Essex in the dangerous position in which he believed the Queen's death would place him, and being earnestly pressed by Essex to take some steps to relieve him, it was resolved to send again to King James, and propose that he should call upon Elizabeth to declare his right to the succession; that, to support his demand, Mountjoy would leave Ireland defensively guarded, and with 4000 or 5000 men come to his assistance; while Essex should make head with his party. The King's answer was, that, until the garrison was settled at Lough Foyle, he should not be prepared to entertain that course,

and with this temporizing answer the matter dropped for the time.

Towards the end of April, 1600, Southampton went to join Mountjoy in Ireland; by him Essex sent letters to Mountjoy, pressing him to proceed to the execution of the above arrangement, but to bring his forces over into Wales instead of carrying them to Scotland. Lord Mountjoy, however, did not think it lawful to enter into that course except with the approbation of the next in succession to the Crown; and, now the life of Lord Essex was no longer in danger, he would not venture on any enterprise merely to restore his fortune. In August, Southampton having returned from Ireland, went into the Low Countries. Essex, released from the surveillance of Sir Richard Barkely, was then listening to the dangerous advice of Henry Cuffe, who advised him to renew his intrigue with James of Scotland, through whom he persuaded him he could do many things for his advantage.

Essex next sent, by Sir Charles Davers, to inform Mountjoy what his plans were: that he relied on him and Southampton as his best friends, and would follow their advice in all things: that his lease of sweet wines expiring at Michaelmas, he should be able to judge, by the renewal or refusal of it, what were the Queen's intentions towards him: that a Parliament would be called about that time, and if he was not kept from attending it by his confinement, he and his friends would propose some things for the good of the state—meaning a declaration of the successor to Elizabeth: that if he was unable

to attend the Parliament, he did not rightly know what to do; but that he was resolved, by means of his friends, to present himself to the Queen; to which end he desired Mountjoy would write him a letter, complaining of misgovernment in the state, and calling on him to do something towards redressing it.

To this Mountjoy replied, that he did not approve of the project; but recommended the Earl to have patience, and endeavour to regain the Queen's favour by submission to her will. That, when he returned home, he would act for him as a friend, but that he would write no letter that he could not justify.

Before Mountjoy's answer arrived, Essex had given up this plan; and an agent was sent to the Scotch King, to urge him again to send ambassadors to Elizabeth, to demand an immediate recognition of his right to the succession; and all other measures were deferred until the arrival of his reply, or of the ambassadors.

In the mean time, Essex House was thrown open; and Sir Gilly Meyrick, the Earl's steward, entertained all comers. The result was a constant assemblage of discontented persons, adventurers of all sorts, and soldiers out of employ. The most eminent Puritan divines preached daily at Essex House, to hear whose sermons the citizens flocked in great numbers. The extreme heedlessness of such conduct is almost in itself a refutation of the charge of any treasonable plotting being then carried on, which would have required the utmost secrecy to disarm the suspicions so certain to be excited by this mode of proceeding. The Puritans

were in the habit of justifying resistance to authority, and one of the preachers at Essex House went so far as to say, that the great magistrates of the kingdom had power, in case of necessity, to control and restrain the Sovereign.

We may as well state here, that King James, who was very suspicious of the Secretary, Sir Robert Cecyll, at once embraced the proposal sent him, to demand of Elizabeth a declaration of his right to the succession: the Earl of Mar and Bruce of Kinloss were appointed ambassadors; but unforeseen accidents having caused the outbreak of the Earl of Essex before their departure from Scotland, their ostensible business was altered to one of congratulation to the Queen on her escape from the late conspiracy.[1] But Dr. Birch has extracted from papers in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh, the King's private instructions to the envoys; by which it appears that they were to take part *in it*, or lie still, according as *his friends* in England thought best; that if they resolved on action, and only required a head, his envoys had full powers to declare him ready to supply that place,—with the sole reservation that the Queen's person was to be safe; that if all were over before they arrived there, they were to use every means to strengthen his party.

The last clause in these instructions was the only one that remained for them to execute, which they did with such success, as to obtain assurances from all the principal noblemen and councillors, that on

[1] Birch, ii. 509. 10.

the death of Elizabeth, James should be proclaimed King of England. Among these was Sir Robert Cecyll, who from this time kept up a correspondence with the Scots King by means of Lord Henry Howard. In this correspondence Lord Henry gave the King particular accounts of the state of the English Court, recommending him to place his whole dependence on the Secretary; and prejudicing him against the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Ralegh, whom he describes as men without principles of religion or morality, a triplicity, who deny the Trinity. Of Northumberland, whom he calls also a very contemptible man, he relates the following anecdote. That he had told his Countess, to whom, after two years' separation, he had lately been reconciled, that he had rather the King of Scots were buried than crowned, and he and his friends would lose their lives, rather than her brother's great god should reign in England. To which the Countess answered with great spirit, if not much delicacy, that rather than any other King should reign in England, she would eat all their hearts in salt, though she were brought to the gallows immediately after.

The preachings and concourse at Essex House excited so much attention, that, about Christmas, the Earl's friends feared that he would be committed to confinement; and seeking safety by flight was more thought of than any thing else.

It is said by Thuanus, that a young man of good family, a domestic of the Earl, who had been educated

with him[1], and was so much trusted by him, that, in his hearing, he discussed his most secret designs, at this time turned informer, and revealed to the Secretary every thing that passed at Essex House. The name of this traitor is not given, and we have no means of knowing the truth of the assertion; but there is no doubt the Government had full knowledge of all the proceedings of the Earl and his friends.

In the beginning of January, 1601, a committee of the principal partisans of the Earl of Essex began to hold meetings at Drury House[2], the residence of the Earl of Southampton. These were, Southampton himself, Sir Charles Davers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir John Davis, and Mr. John Lyttelton of Frankley, in Worcestershire. The list of names of persons supposed to be attached to Essex numbered 120 earls, barons, knights, and gentlemen.

The points submitted by the Earl of Essex for their consideration, with a view to secure his access to the Queen in such a manner as could not be resisted, were these: whether it would be necessary to possess the Tower, as a check upon the city, should their seizure of the Court be disliked; in what manner the enterprise at the Court should be executed; whether both attempts should be made at once; what numbers would be requisite for both or

[1] As Anthony Bagot was pardoned for his share in the insurrection, Gabriel Montgomery is the only person who appears to fulfil these conditions.

[2] The Olympic Theatre occupies the site of Drury House.

either; what persons should be employed; and where they should assemble.

It appears that the city being considered friendly, it was not thought necessary to seize the Tower; and for the Palace, it was resolved that Sir Christopher Blount should seize the outer gate, Sir Charles Davers the Guard Chamber and Presence Chamber; and Sir John Davis the Great Hall; that being done, the Earl should come out of the Mews, make his way to the Queen, and humbly entreat her to remove his enemies from her person, and call a Parliament.

Nothing, however, was to be finally settled until the arrival of the Scots ambassadors, which was impatiently expected.

An unforeseen event hastened the catastrophe. On Saturday, the 7th February, Secretary Herbert was sent from the Council to desire Essex to appear before them, their professed intention being to admonish him to make a temperate use of his liberty. He excused himself on the plea of ill-health. Very shortly after this visit he received a note from an anonymous writer, warning him to provide without delay for his own safety.

He immediately called a council of his friends. They deliberated whether they should at once seize the palace, or first try the feelings of the city, and with the aid of the citizens attempt the palace; or whether they should abandon their projects, and seek safety in immediate flight. The first plan was thought impracticable on account of their want of men, it being reported that the guards at the

Court had been doubled. While debating the second, a person came in who pretended to have been sent from the city, and promised all assistance against the enemies of the Earl, who was assured that Sheriff Smith, with 1000 men of the trained bands, was ready to support them. This encouraged Essex at once to declare against the third alternative of flying the kingdom. Blinded by despair, and by the vain idea of his popularity bringing him support from the city, he resolved on one of the maddest enterprises ever attempted by a man of sound mind. What could be expected for a handful of men, unsupported even by a good cause, in an attempt to overturn a long-established, vigorous, wise, and popular government, but defeat, destruction, and disgrace?

The Earl's plan was this: the next day, Sunday, the 8th February, he was to enter the city at the head of 200 men, so as to arrive at Paul's Cross a little before the end of the sermon; after which he was to acquaint the Aldermen and Common Council with the reasons for his coming, and demand their assistance. If they afforded it, he would instantly force his way to the Queen; if they objected, he would immediately escape to another part of the kingdom.

The night was passed in summoning all his friends to Essex House. In the morning there were assembled the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, Lords Sandys and Monteagle, and many knights and gentlemen with their followers, amounting in all to some 300 persons. Essex informed them that Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh designed to take away his life; that the city

of London being on his side, he meant to retire into it, and thence make his way to the royal presence, and demand revenge for the injuries his adversaries had inflicted on him. The gates of Essex House were closed, no person admitted who was unknown, and none suffered to go out, except Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was allowed to go to Sir Walter Ralegh, who was waiting in a boat to speak with him.

Information of these persons flocking into Essex House had been conveyed to the Queen, who despatched orders to the Lord Mayor to see that all the citizens were in readiness to obey orders, and at the same time sent four of her great officers to Essex House, to inquire into the cause of the assemblage, and thus prevented the execution of the plan.

The original declaration of the Lord Keeper, Lord Chief Justice Popham, and the Earl of Worcester, signed by them, being the most authentic account of what passed at Essex House, is presented entire to the reader.[1]

One can scarcely understand the infatuation which possessed Essex: the only chance left for him under the circumstances was to dismiss his followers, and to have sought safety in flight; no overt act of treason or violence had been committed; his followers would, therefore, have been unmolested. Sir Charles Davers advised him, either to treat with the Lord Keeper, or else make his way through the gate of Essex House,

[1] S. P. O.

and then haste away to Highgate, and so to Northumberland, and thence to the King of Scots; under his protection they might make their peace; if they failed, the Queen was old, and could not live long. This good counsel passed unheeded.

Upon Sunday, the 8th February last past, about ten of the clock in the forenoon, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Earl of Worcester, Sir Wm. Knollys, Comptroller of H.M. household, and the Lord Chief Justice of England, being commanded by direction from the Queen's Majesty, did repair to the late Earl of Essex house, and finding the gate shut against them, after a little stay they were let in at the wicket, and as soon as they were within the gate, the wicket was shut upon them, and all their servants kept out. At their coming thither, they found the court full of men assembled together in very tumultuous sort. The Earls of Essex, Rutland, and Southampton, and the Lord Sandys, Master Parker, commonly called Lord Monteagle; Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Charles Davers, and many other knights and gentlemen, and other persons unknown, flocked together about the L. Keeper, &c.; and thereupon the L. Keeper told the Earl of Essex that they were sent from Her Maj. to understand the cause of this their assembly, and to let them know, that if they had any particular cause of grief against any persons whatsoever, it should be heard, and they should have justice; hereupon the Earl of Essex, with a very loud voice, declared that his life was sought, and that he should have been murdered in his bed; that he had been perfidiously dealt with; that his hand had been counterfeited, and letters written in his name; and that therefore they were assembled there to defend their lives, with much other speech to like effect. Hereupon the Lord Chief Justice said unto the Earl, that if they had any such

matter of grief, or if any such matter were attempted or purposed against him, he willed the Earl to declare it, assuring him that it should be truly related to Her Maj., and that it should be indifferently heard, and justice should be done, whomsoever it concerned. To this the Earl of Southampton objected the assault made upon him by the Lord Grey; whereunto the Lord Chief Justice said, that in his case justice had been done, and the party imprisoned for it. And hereupon the Lord Keeper did eftsoons will the Earl of Essex, that whatsoever private matter of offence he had against any person whatsoever, if he would deliver it unto them, they would faithfully and honestly deliver it to the Queen's Majesty, and doubted not to procure him honorable and equal justice, whomsoever it concerned; requiring him that if he would not declare it openly, that he would impart it unto them privately, and doubted not but they would satisfy him in it. Upon this there was a great clamor raised amongst the multitude, crying, "Away, my Lord, they abuse you, they betray you, they undo you, you lose time." Whereupon the Lord Keeper put on his hat, and said in a loud voice, "My Lord, let us speak with you privately, and understand your griefs; and I command you all, on your allegiance, to lay down your weapons and to depart, which you ought all to do, being thus commanded, if you be good subjects, and owe that duty to the Queen's Maj. which you profess." Whereupon they all brake out into an exceeding loud shout and cry, crying, "All, all, all." And whilst the Lord Keeper was speaking, and commanding them upon their allegiance, as is before declared, the Earl of Essex and the most part of that company did put on their hats. And so the Earl of Essex went into the house, and the Lord Keeper, &c. followed him, thinking that his purpose had been to speak with them privately, as they had required; and as they were going, some of that disordered company cried, "Kill

them;" and as they were going into the great chamber some cried, "Cast the Great Seal out of the window;" some other cried then, "Kill them;" and some other said, "Nay, let us shop them up." The Lord Keeper did often call on the Earl of Essex to speak with them privately, thinking still that his meaning had been so, until the Earl brought them into his back chamber, and then gave order to have the further door of that chamber shut fast; and at his going forth out of that chamber, the Lord Keeper pressing again to have spoken with the Earl of Essex, the Earl said, "My Lords, be patient a while, and stay here, and I will go into London and take order with the Mayor and Sheriffs for the city, and will be here again within this half-hour;" and so departed from the Lord Keeper, &c. leaving the Lord Keeper, &c. and divers of the gentlemen prisoners in that chamber, guarded by Sir John Davis, Francis Tresham, and Owen Salisbury, with musket shot, where they continued until Sir Ferd. Gorges came and delivered them about four of the clock in the afternoon. In the mean time, we did often require Sir John Davis and Francis Tresham to suffer us to depart, or at the least to suffer some one of us to go to the Queen's Majesty, to inform her where and in what sort we were kept; but they answered that my Lord, meaning the Earl of Essex, had commanded that we should not depart before his return, which they said would be very shortly.

THOS. EGERTON, C. S.

All this I heard also, saving only the words, "Cast the Seal out of the window," and the words the Earl said touching his going to the Lord Mayor and settling the city, which I heard not, being somewhat before my Lord Keeper; but in the chamber where the books were, I moved the Earl that he would cause his company to depart, that we might have some private speech with the Earl: the Earl answered, he would

not cause them to depart, for that they should not think he had betrayed them.

J. POPHAM.

The most part of these words uttered by my Lord Keeper and my Lord Chief Justice, I do very well remember; but the throng was so great as I was cast behind at their going into the chamber, but recovering their company, I heard my Lord Keeper, as I take it, say, that if they stay us, they must keep us as prisoners, otherwise we would depart to Court; whereunto the Earl, as I take it, replied, and said, that if his Lordship and the rest would have patience until his return, both he and they would go together, and lay himself and his causes at the foot of Her Majesty. And so the rest cried out, "My Lord, you lose time," and so they departed, and left us under guard. For the words, "Cast the Seal out at the window," I did not hear myself, but by report; but many gave their censures, some saying, "Kill them;" some, "Keep them as prisoners;" some, "Let them be pledges until their return."

E. WORCESTER.

On quitting the Lord Keeper, Essex, leaving his house in the charge of Sir Gilly Meyrick, went out immediately with a company of about 200 men. In the street he was joined by the Earl of Bedford, Lord Cromwell, and their followers.

He proceeded at once to the house of Sheriff Smith, near Fenchurch, crying out as he went: "For the Queen! for the Queen! a plot is laid for "my life:" the streets were empty, and there was no sermon at Paul's Cross in consequence of the message from the Queen: the citizens, all amazed at the unusual outcry, came to their doors to see what

caused the noise, but not a man took up arms for him. On his approach, the Sheriff, upon whose support he had depended, made his escape by the back-door to the Lord Mayor. On arriving at the Sheriff's house, Essex is said to have been in such a profuse perspiration from his agitation of mind and body, that he was obliged to "shift himself."

In the mean time, Thomas, Lord Burghley, accompanied by Garter King-at-Arms, and the Earl of Cumberland, with Sir Thomas Gerard, Knight Marshal, proclaimed the Earl and his adherents traitors in different parts of the city.

Hearing this, and finding there was no hope of assistance from the citizens, he resolved to return to Essex House, send his submission to the Queen by the Lord Keeper, and endeavour to obtain some terms. At Ludgate, a company of soldiers was posted under Sir John Leveson, who refused to let them pass. Essex ordered a charge, but his disheartened followers, and now diminished numbers, for many had slipped away, were repulsed. In the skirmish, Essex was shot through the hat, Sir Christopher Blount wounded and taken; a young gentleman named Tracy, "dear to the Earl," and two or three citizens killed.

Retreating to Queenhithe, they there took boat, and gained Essex House. Here another disappointment awaited him: Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who left him in the city, had come to Essex House, released the Lord Keeper and his fellow prisoners, and accompanied them to the palace.

'On his return he burnt all his papers, among which was one he called a history of his troubles, saying they should tell no tales of his friends.

During the day the alarm had been excessive at Court; all the gates were closed and fortified, the passages blocked up with carriages and chains. The Queen alone displayed the courage and firmness which had formerly so endeared her to the hearts of her people. She alone talked of going to meet the insurgents, declaring that not one of them would dare to meet her eye, but would fly at her approach.

The return of the Lord Keeper brought the intelligence of the insurgents having been discomfited in the city, and of their return to Essex House. The Lord Admiral was sent to invest it before the inmates had time to strengthen its defences. The Earls of Cumberland and Lincoln, Lords Thomas Howard, Grey, Burghley, and Compton took post on the land side; the Lord Admiral, his son, Lord Effingham, Lord Cobham, Sir John Stanhope, Sir Robert Sidney, and Fulke Greville, in the garden, and on the river side. Before storming the house, Sir Robert Sidney was sent to summon the besieged. Southampton appeared on the roof, and asked to whom they should yield? To their enemies? that would be giving themselves up to destruction. To the Queen? that would be confessing themselves guilty. But if the Lord Admiral would give hostages for their safety, they would present themselves before the Queen; otherwise they determined to die in their own defence.

The Lord Admiral returned for answer that he would make no terms with rebels; but he gave an hour's delay to allow Lady Essex, Lady Rich, and other women to leave the house.

Essex now showed the most remarkable irresolution: he was but half a rebel, and already regretting the excesses to which he had gone, could resolve on nothing. First, he determined to sally out; in which he was encouraged by Lord Sandys, a man advanced in years, who declared the boldest course to be the safest, and that it better became men of their rank to die sword in hand than by the hands of the executioner. Soon changing his mind, the Earl declared he would surrender on conditions. The Lord Admiral refused to listen to them. On this Essex said he did not insist on prescribing terms, and made but these three singular requests; that they should be civilly treated; that their cause should be justly and lawfully heard; and that Mr. Ashton, his chaplain, might attend him in prison for the comfort of his soul; which being agreed to, the Lords and Gentlemen in Essex House, on their knees, surrendered their swords to the Lord Admiral.

Thus an enterprise, begun in madness and folly, was weakly and ignominiously ended.

The Earls of Essex, Southampton, and Rutland, Lords Sandys, Cromwell, and Monteagle, Sir Charles Davers, and Sir Henry Bromley, were sent to the Tower: the other prisoners were distributed among the public prisons.

On the 9th the Queen issued a proclamation, thanking the citizens of London for their loyal conduct, and warning them to be careful of the peace of the city, as the extent of the conspiracy was not yet known.

CHAPTER V.

LIFE OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

WESTMINSTER HALL AT THE TRIAL OF ESSEX AND SOUTHAMPTON. — THEIR ARRAIGNMENT. — CONFESSIONS OF THEIR COMPANIONS. — BACON'S SPEECH AND BEHAVIOUR. — ESSEX'S SPEECH, AND CONDEMNATION. — MR. ASHTON OBTAINS A CONFESSION. — CHAMBERLAIN'S ACCOUNT. — LADY ESSEX'S LETTER TO CECYLL, WHO RELENTS. — RALEGH'S LETTER, URGING THE DEATH OF ESSEX. — THE STORY OF THE RING CONSIDERED, WITH THE SUBSEQUENT REGRET OF ELIZABETH. — THE QUEEN'S INDECISION. — ORDER OF EXECUTION SENT. — LAST HOURS AND DEATH OF ESSEX.

THE 19th February, 1601, was appointed for the arraignment of the Earls of Essex and Southampton.

For their trial a court was made in Westminster Hall: a raised platform, about two yards high and six yards square, was erected at the upper end of the hall; the seat of the Lord Steward on the west side towards the King's Bench; on each side seats covered with green cloth for the Peers; in the middle a table covered with green cloth, after the manner of the Exchequer, with seats round it for the Judges and Counsel; on the north side a little square space was cut for the Serjeant of the Mace; at the east end was the bar where the prisoners stood.

Lord Buckhurst, the Lord High Steward for the time being, preceded by the King of Arms bearing the white staff, and accompanied by seven Serjeants

with maces, having taken his seat, the Constable and the Lieutenant of the Tower produced the prisoners, who were preceded by a porter bearing the axe, with its edge turned from them. On meeting at the bar the Earls kissed each other's hands, and embraced cheerfully.

Silence having been proclaimed, the Clerk of the Crown read the commission, and the precept containing the names of the Peers of Robert, Earl of Essex, and Henry, Earl of Southampton. Proclamation being then made that all Earls, Viscounts, and Barons summoned do answer to their names, the Lords were called as follows: —

Edward, Earl of Oxford.
Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury.
William, Earl of Danby.
Edward, Earl of Worcester.
George, Earl of Cumberland.
Robert, Earl of Sussex.
Edward, Earl of Hertford.
Henry, Earl of Lincoln.
Charles, Earl of Nottingham.
Thomas, Viscount Bindon.
Thomas, Lord De la Warr.
Edward, Lord Morley.
Henry, Lord Cobham.
Henry, Lord Stafford.
Thomas, Lord Grey de Wilton.
Thomas, Lord Lumley.
Henry, Lord Windsor.
William, Lord Chandos.
Robert, Lord Rich.
Thomas, Lord Darcy.
George, Lord Hunsdon.
Oliver, Lord St. John of Bletsoe.
Thomas, Lord Burghley.
William, Lord Compton.
Thomas, Lord Howard de Walden.

The Judges were the Lord Chief Justices Popham, and Anderson, L. C. Baron Sir William Periam, Justices Gawdie, Fenner, Walmesley, Warburton, Kingsmill, and Mr. Baron Clarke.

Essex asked the Chief Justice whether, like any

common person, they might challenge those of the Peers whom they knew to be their professed enemies: being answered in the negative, he said he was contented: when the Lord Grey was called, he pulled Southampton by the sleeve and laughed.[1]

They were then ordered to hold up their hands while the indictment was read: the Earl of Essex first cast up his hand with a bold countenance, and said, "I have held it up to a better purpose, and "thought to have done so again." During the reading of the indictment, to which he paid great attention, "he did very often show divers gestures "with much smiling in countenance, and often whis- "pering to his companion; acting also a vehement "passion of admiration, with holding up his hands "and shaking his head, blessing himself, as it were, "at the strangeness of those accusations, though "silent the whole time, not uttering one word of in- "terruption."

Serjeant Yelverton opened the prosecution in a speech of great moderation, showing that whoever is guilty of rebellion is guilty of an intention to seek the death of the Prince, which is treason, and that the punishment of treason is death. He ended his

[1] Lord Grey had been committed to the custody of the Marshal, while in Ireland, for having given some orders to a colonel of horse, without permission of Southampton, General of the Horse. This bred a quarrel; but the Queen prevented a duel, and commanded them not to meddle with each other; notwithstanding which Grey set upon Southampton in the Strand, one day in January, 1600; the former having many followers, the latter only a footboy, who lost his hand in the encounter; nevertheless Southampton contrived to defend himself till succour arrived. For this Lord Grey was committed to the Fleet.

speech with a prayer, that God might long preserve Her Majesty, and guard her from her enemies; to which Essex and Southampton replied, "Amen, and "God confound their souls that ever wished other-"wise to her sacred person."

The Attorney General, Sir Edward Coke, succeeded, who, in his usual coarse and brutal style, endeavoured to aggravate the offence of the prisoners.

The declaration of the Lord Keeper, Lord Chief Justice, and Earl of Worcester, was read and attested by the two latter, and the examination of one Henry Witherington, who had accompanied the Earls into the city, and left them there, was also proved.

Essex said that they were charged by the Attorney with having dealt with Papists: he desired to assure their Lordships that Papists had been hired and suborned to bring him into danger, and that his handwriting had been counterfeited with the like purpose. The last assertion referred to the following circumstance. While Essex was in the custody of the Lord Keeper, the Countess gave a casket of letters (for purpose of concealment in case her husband's papers should be seized) to the wife of one John Daniel, who had been her gentlewoman, to keep them for her.

Jane Daniel says[1], that about the 18th October,

[1] In a MS. book written by Jane Daniel, and entitled "Daniel's Disasters," which has lately been discovered in the Chapter House, Westminster, with a privy seal attached, authorising the printing of the said book, in the reign of James I., it appears that Jane Daniel was the daughter of François Kethulle, Lord of Ryhove, in Flanders, Governor and Highbailiff

1599, the Countess of Essex committed to her charge a "casket of a reasonable bigness," keeping the key herself, and saying there were only letters therein. About the 7th January, 1600, Lady Essex sent for the casket again: "the next day after the casket "was delivered, her L. came to my house and told "me that she missed some of her letters out of it; "and being answered by me that I never touched "any of her letters, my husband was called forth of "his bed, and after some conference between them, "she desired that we would make some search in the "house among the servants; and went away de-"livering some expressions of discontent against my "husband." On the 24th February, Lady Essex wrote to Mrs. Daniel, that she understood her husband had the letters, adding, "let him bring them to "me, and my Lord and I will be better and more "kind to him than ever we were;" and, in a post-script, desires her to use her best endeavour with her husband: which, says she, "I did, but, if the "depth of this matter were well known, I received "the like success that Volumnia had in persuading "her son Coriolanus to raise the siege from Rome, "for he whom I persuaded to shun Scylla fell upon "Charybdis." Daniel was at the time on duty at the Court in some post which doubtless was obtained for him by the master he was betraying. He wrote

of Ghent and Dendermond, who, meeting with misfortunes, partly on account of his religion, died in poverty, and his daughter was taken into the service of Lady Essex, at that time wife to Sir Philip Sidney; and remained with her until she became the wife of John Daniel, of Deeresbury, or Dewsbury, in Cheshire, who was in Essex's service.

thus to his wife: "Jane, I am glad that the Countess "of Essex made you acquainted where her letters "are, which I was loth to have done. But now I "think good to let you know, that my decayed estate "is more than I was willing you should be partaker "of; and although I meant to have delivered the "Countess' letters to Her Majesty, yet if I can re-"cover myself by them that have wrought my decay, "I will, for your sake, forbear my purpose; hoping "the Countess will deal well with me, and recom-"pense all my losses sustained by her and her Lord, "then I will willingly satisfy her request in that "behalf; otherwise I will deliver her letters to the "Queen, as I was before determined, and so do bid "you heartily farewell. From the Court at Rich-"mond, the last of February, 1600."

Daniel was a great scoundrel, and fully deserved to fall upon the Charybdis he made for himself. It appears he demanded 3000*l.*, a sum that Lady Essex was not able to pay, but by the sale of her jewels she contrived to make up 1720*l.*, which Daniel consenting to take, he was paid by Sir Edward Dier and Mr. William Lylle; and gave up to them, not the original letters, but forged duplicates he had obtained.

Peter Bales, a schoolmaster, who was employed by Daniel to copy the letters, made a declaration of the circumstances attending his employment.[1] He says that he suspected there was treason in the letters, from some secresy contained in one,

[1] Chapter House, Westminster.

beginning "Frank,—I send unto you Cuffe, my man, "whom you may believe in what he saith;" and about the middle of the letter, "the Queen's com- "mandment may break my neck, but mine enemies at "home shall never break my heart:" and in the end of the letter he saith, "when your belly shall be laid, "I will provide for your being here;" which letter was from the Earl in Ireland to his Countess in England, dated in August before his coming over.

If we cannot like the schoolmaster discover treason in these expressions, we at all events learn one remarkable fact, which refutes many an accusation against Essex, of treasonable plans for returning from Ireland at the head of his army; for in August he had so little intention of leaving that country, that he looked forward to his wife joining him there after her confinement, which took place the 30th of September. It is probable the letters contained personal allusions to the Queen, of a nature which made it very desirable they should not be seen by her.

Mr. Daniel, however, does not seem to have enjoyed his plunder very long. The declaration of Peter Bales was made in July, 1600. Daniel was sentenced in the Star Chamber to perpetual imprisonment, to pay a fine of 3000*l.*, of which 2000*l.* were to be returned to the Countess, and to stand with his ears nailed to the pillory, and this inscription—"*A wicked forger and impostor.*"

To return from this digression to the trial.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges was examined, whose evidence was to the same effect as the others; but being

particularly pressed, both by the peers and the prisoners, to disclose anything further of any intention against the Queen's person, he said, that by the oath he had taken, he never knew or heard of any thought or purpose of hurt or disloyalty intended to Her Majesty's person by my Lord of Essex.

Essex accused Sir Robert Cecyll of having said, that the Infanta of Spain was the right heir to the Crown of England. The Secretary, who had been concealed, in the anticipation, as it seems, of some such charge, stepped forth on this being said, and desiring to speak, insisted that Essex should produce his authority, who only replied, that Southampton had heard it as well as himself. Cecyll then conjured the latter, by his duty to God, his Christianity, and their ancient friendship, to name the councillor to whom he was reported to have made this speech. Being told it was Mr. Comptroller, the Secretary fell on his knees, desired that Sir William Knollys might be sent for, and sent a message to the Queen, vowing to God, that if she would not allow Sir William to come, he would die rather than ever serve her again. It appeared that a book, treating of the succession of the Infanta, had been read in his presence, and some remarks made on it, but that Sir Robert Cecyll had never used such an expression to the Comptroller. Doubtless it was one of the stories propagated and exaggerated by an enemy of Cecyll, to make it palatable to the Earl of Essex; although, from the extreme agitation evinced by Sir Robert, it is probable he had some secret correspondence which he dreaded might become

known, though of any intention of advocating the interest of the Infanta we must acquit him.

When Sir Walter Ralegh was called and sworn, Essex exclaimed, "What booteth it to swear this fox?"

The confessions of some of the principal followers of Essex and Southampton were next put in. The Earls were totally unaware of this, and it must have been a severe shock to find those matters confessed, of which, otherwise, there had been no proof; as of the meetings at Drury House, and what passed at their consultations. What means were used to induce those unhappy men to confess, we know not; it availed them but little. These confessions were all taken on the 18th, the day before the trial of the Earls.

Sir John Davis confessed that they met at Drury House, the Sunday se'nnight before the outbreak, for the first time: the object of the meetings was to consult how my Lord should possess himself of the Court; and they had two meetings.

Sir Charles Davers made a similar confession, the substance of which is contained in our account of the projected enterprise. He said that Cuffe had always been of opinion that the Earl should go to Court after that fashion.

Sir Christopher Blount's was to the same effect; and in reply to a question, whether he did not expect toleration for his religion should the Earl come to the chief power, he said he should be wrong to deny it.

The Earl of Rutland knew nothing before he went

to Essex House on Sunday morning; whither he went, resolved to live and die with the Earl of Essex.

Lord Sandys was only acquainted with what passed on the Sunday.

Lord Cromwell did not make any deposition at that time, nor until after the death of Essex; nor does it appear that Henry Cuffe[1] or Sir Gilly Meyrick ever did. These confessions disclosed the meetings of Drury House; and although Southampton urged that to consult was not to determine, and that there was no connection between those meetings and the irruption into the city, which was caused entirely by the sudden intimation of danger to Essex, and the arrival of the Lord Keeper, yet a much graver case was thereby made against them.

Great surprise was felt at this weak betrayal of themselves and their associates. George Carleton, writing to his brother Dudley, after the execution of the Earl, says, "It was strange to see the beginning "of this action, whereof I was a beholder, and some-"what stranger to consider the circumstances now "towards the end; for these noble and resolute men, "assured of one another by their undoubted valor, "and combined together by firm oaths, being all "taken, severed, examined, and the principal ar-"raigned and condemned, set in the end before their "deaths to such plain confessions and accusations "one of another, that they seemed to strive who "should draw one another in deepest, and sought by

[1] Cuffe wrote a remarkable letter, which may be called a confession, to Sir Robert Cecyll, while under sentence of death.

" all means to remove the blame and shame of being " the first movers and contrivers of these their con- " fessed treasonable plots one from another; in which " the Earl himself exceeded all other to all men's " wonder." This is an unjust charge against Essex, who did not make any confession until, through the confessions of his comrades, he had been condemned to death.

The most remarkable circumstance attending the trial was the appearance of Francis Bacon as counsel for the prosecution.

A man of fine feeling, or one endowed with a high sense of honour, would have stood up and defended to the very utmost of his power the friend and patron of former years; one who possessed but the most ordinary share of such qualities would have remained neuter. Bacon was none of these. To him the smiles of the Queen far outweighed the calls of gratitude, friendship, and honour. Not being a Crown lawyer, he was not required by his office to appear; the offence was so clear, that a conviction was certain, had no counsel spoken at all; yet did Francis Bacon, to his eternal shame, not only appear against them, but exerted all his wit and eloquence to aggravate the offence of the prisoners, and to cut away those grounds of palliation from which they might have hoped to reach the Queen's pardon. How different was the conduct of Serjeant Yelverton, who, many years after, was called on, as Attorney General, to prosecute the Earl of Somerset, and nobly dared the utmost anger of King James rather than

plead against the man who had made him Solicitor General.

Essex urged in palliation of his conduct that he was surrounded by enemies, who had ruined his fortune, who sought his life, and by whose means he had been driven to despair. Bacon compared him to Pisistratus, who, by working on the affection borne him by the citizens, established tyranny at Athens. He declared all that Essex had said or could say were but shadows. Essex then interrupted him, saying, he should call Mr. Bacon for a witness against Mr. Bacon the pleader; and desired him to tell the Lords, whether he had not written letters in the names of Essex and his brother Anthony, in which he pointed out the enemies of the Earl as plainly as he now denied them. To this Bacon only replied, that he had spent more hours in endeavouring to make Essex a good subject than any man in the world besides; and proceeded to compare Essex to the Duke of Guise, and his going into the city to the day of the barricades at Paris; a comparison which more than any other which could have been hit upon, was calculated to embitter and exasperate the feelings of the Queen against the Earl; for as some analogy might be drawn between him and the Duke of Guise, the comparison which would naturally follow between her and Henry III., who was held in such subjection by his great subject, must have been in the highest degree offensive to her.

The prisoners having been withdrawn, the Peers unanimously found them guilty of high treason.

Being then brought back to the bar, the bearer of the axe turning its edge towards them, the Clerk of the Crown said: "Robert, Earl of Essex, you have been "arraigned and indicted of high treason; you have "pleaded not guilty, and for your trial you have "put yourself on God and your Peers; the Peers here "have found you guilty; now what can you say for "yourself, why you should not have judgment of "death?"

The Earl spoke as follows: "I only say this, that "since I have committed that which has brought me "within the compass of the law, I may be accounted "the law's traitor in offending the law, for which I "am willing to die, and will as willingly go thereto "as ever any did; but I beseech your Lordships "here to have consideration of what I have formerly "spoken, and do me the right to think I am a "Christian, and that I have a soul to save, and that "I know it is no time to jest. Lying and counter-"feiting my soul abhorreth; for I am not desperate "nor devoid of grace, now to speak falsely. I do not "speak to save my life, for that I see were vain; "I owe God a death, which shall be welcome, how "soon soever it pleaseth Her Majesty. And to "satisfy the opinion of the world, that my con-"science is free from Atheism and Popery; how-"soever I have been misled in this action, to trans-"gress the points of the law, in the course and "defence of private matters, and whatsoever through "my weakness of wit, and dulness of memory, or "through violent courses, I have omitted, or may

" have uttered otherwise; yet I will live and die " in the faith and true religion which here I have " professed."

The Clerk of the Crown having put the same question to the Earl of Southampton, he made a speech, throwing himself wholly on the mercy of the Queen.

The Lord Steward then addressed Essex, saying, that the Queen had granted him many favours, and he therefore wished that Essex would in like manner submit himself to Her Majesty's mercy. To whom the Earl replied: —

" My Lord, you have made an honorable motion; " do but send for me at the time of my death, and " you shall see how penitent and humble I will be " towards Her Majesty, both in acknowledging her " exceeding favors to my ancestors and to myself, " whereby I doubt not, but that the penitent suffering " of my death, and sprinkling of my blood, will " quench the evil conceited thoughts of Her Majesty " against me. And I do most humbly desire Her " Majesty, that my death may put a period to my " offences committed, and be no more remembered by " Her Highness. If I had ever perceived any of my " followers to have harboured an evil thought against " Her Majesty, I would have been the first that " should have punished the same in being his execu- " tioner; and therefore I beseech you, my good Lord, " mistake me not, nor think me so proud that I will " not crave Her Majesty's mercy, for I protest, " kneeling upon the very knee of my heart, I do

" crave Her Majesty's mercy with all humility; yet I " had rather die than live in misery."

Then the Lord Steward exhorted them to prepare to meet their God, and said that the law having found them guilty, he must proceed to judgment. To which Essex replied cheerfully, " Yea, my good Lord, with " a very good will I pray you to go on."

Then the Lord High Steward gave judgment: " You " must go back to the place from whence you came, " there to remain during Her Majesty's pleasure; from " thence to be drawn on a hurdle through the streets " of London, and so to the place of execution, where " you shall be hanged, bowelled, and quartered; your " heads and quarters to be disposed of at Her " Majesty's pleasure; and so God have mercy on your " souls."

The Earl of Essex then said: " My Lord, I am not " a whit dismayed to receive this sentence, for I " protest death is as welcome to me as life; and I " shall die as cheerful a death upon such a testimony " as ever man did. And I think it fit my poor " quarters, that have done Her Majesty true service " in divers parts of the world, should be sacrificed " and disposed of at Her Majesty's pleasure; where- " unto with all willingness of heart I do submit " myself. But one thing I beg of you, my Lords, " that have free access to Her Majesty's person, " humbly to beseech Her Majesty that, during the " short time I shall live, I may have the same preacher " to comfort me that hath been with me since my " troubles began; for as he that hath been long sick,

" is most desirous of the physician which hath been " and is best acquainted with the constitution of his " body, so do I most wish to have comfort and " spiritual physic from the preacher which hath been " and is acquainted with the inward griefs and " secret affections of my soul. And my last request " shall be only this: that it will please Her Highness " that my Lord Thomas Howard and the Lieutenant " of the Tower may be partakers with me in receiv- " ing the sacrament, and be witness of it, in token " of what I have protested in this life, for my loyalty, " religion, and peace of conscience; and then, when- " soever it shall please Her Majesty to call me, I " shall be ready to seal the same with my blood."

The Earl then desired the Lords Delaware and Morley to forgive him for having been the cause of leading their sons into trouble, and declared that they knew nothing of what was done or to be done. He also asked pardon of the Earl of Worcester and Chief Justice for having confined them.

The trial lasted from eight o'clock in the morning till seven at night.

When Essex found that Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Charles Davers, and Sir John Davis, had confessed all the consultations held at Drury House, for arranging the plan of surprising the Court, he exclaimed to those about him, that these very men who now accused him, had been, ever since the last August, inciting him to work his access to the Queen with force.

Dr. Dove, Dean of Norwich, was sent to Essex the

next day by the Lords of the Council, to urge him to acknowledge the offences of which he had been found guilty; he refused to listen to the persuasions of that reverend divine. Being asked by the Dean why he had refused to go to the Council, when sent for on the Friday before the insurrection, he replied, that David refused to go to Saul when sent for by him.

Mr. Ashton his chaplain, also instructed by the Council, was next admitted to him. This person is described as a timid and mercenary man, who by great show of zeal had gained the good opinion of the Earl, who being himself of strong religious principles, was very easily deceived into believing others as sincere as himself.

Mr. Ashton found Essex very cheerful and resigned. Instead of administering consolation to him, this Christian minister opened upon the unfortunate nobleman a torrent of the most bitter reproaches. He told him that he had dishonoured God, shamed his profession, offended his sovereign, and drawn on himself notes of infamy. That he had shown to the world that he was a hypocrite in religion, and in his heart either an atheist or a papist. That he was sorry to see he had no more sense of these fearful sins. He declared that whatever colour it might please the Earl to give to it, there was no doubt his object was an ambitious seeking of the crown; and unless by a true confession and unfeigned repentance he unburthened himself of these sins, he would carry out of the world a guilty soul to God, and leave upon his memory the stain of infamy to the remotest posterity.

Essex, who had expected to receive spiritual comfort only from Mr. Ashton, was grievously distressed at the slanderous accusations with which his chaplain so unmercifully overwhelmed him. After a long and sad silence, he said to him: "Mr. Ashton, you have "laid grievous things to my charge, of which if I "could not with truth free and clear myself, I might "justly be held one of the most unworthy creatures "on earth. And I assure you that to have these "reports carried and believed in the world, is more "grievous to me than a thousand deaths. Touching "my religion, I have always abhorred atheism and "superstition, believing in the true God, and desiring "to serve him in that form of his worship professed "and believed in England, in which from my infancy "I was brought up, and have constantly held the "profession thereof till this day. True it is, that "in those public services wherein I have been em-"ployed, I have had use of men of sundry quali-"ties. But howsoever I loved their valor, faithful-"ness, and knowledge of service, that were not re-"ligious, I was ever grieved at the want thereof in "them, and neglected no opportunity I could possibly "gain, to bring them to it.

"For the crown, I never affected it; neither, I "praise God, was ever so careless of my soul, as by "seeking a crown on earth to which I had no color "of title, to deprive my soul of a crown in heaven, "whereof I have so assured hope. Neither am I "ignorant what success God, in his justice, hath laid "upon such ambitious courses in ages past. But

" being a principal member in this commonwealth, I " could not but see and feel what misery was near " unto my country by the great power of such as are " known indeed to be atheists, papists, and pen- " sioners to the mortal enemies of this kingdom. I " knew myself to be bound in conscience, as a Chris- " tian, to prevent the subversion of religion, and as " an Englishman to have regard of my native country. " The only means left to turn away these evils was " to procure my access to Her Majesty, with whom I " assured myself to have had that gracious hearing, " that might have tended to the infinite happiness " of this state, both in removing evil instruments " from about her person, and in settling a succession " for the Crown, to the preventing of Spanish servi- " tude, and the saving of many thousand English- " men's lives. No, no, Mr. Ashton, I never desired " other condition than the state of a subject; but only " to my sovereign, and not to so base and unworthy " vassals under her."

This answer was far from being sufficient to appease the appetite of Mr. Ashton's employers; he accordingly told Essex, that he did not believe those general assertions, and warned him, that though he knew what it was to die here, he had yet to learn what it was to receive condemnation at the judgment-seat of God. He said he did not believe the Earl had any other motives than he had named, nor that he could mention any one person who was either his adviser, persuader, or approver.

Deeply distressed at this doubt of his truth, Essex

replied: "Mr. Ashton, I cannot marvel that my "protestations are so little believed by my enemies, "when they prevail so little with you. But I am "able, by particulars, so to confirm that to you, "who are a minister of the Gospel, and messenger of "God to me at this my last end, as you shall no "longer doubt it."

He proceeded to explain the whole scope and bearing of his plan to obtain an Act of Parliament to establish the right of the King of Scotland to the succession; and named a great many persons of rank and sound religion, who had approved of his views, and engaged with him to further them.

The treacherous intention of Mr. Ashton, who ought rather to have been a Jesuit than a Puritan divine, now showed itself. He told Essex that these were great matters he had divulged, and that he should consider himself bound in allegiance to reveal them. Religious consolation was a secondary object with this worthy chaplain; and by his declarations that he should himself report the confidential communication he had received, and his other persuasions, he so worked on the mind of the Earl, that he was induced to send to Lord Thomas Howard, Constable of the Tower, and request him to move Her Majesty that the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, and Secretary, might be sent to him that he might discharge his conscience by confessing his offences, and reconciling himself to his enemies.

These great officers accordingly waited on him in the Tower the next day, and there received his con-

fession. As most of the conspirators had already confessed, his confession implicated but few who were not already in confinement. The principal of these were Lord Mountjoy, and Sir Henry Neville, Ambassador in France, who had attended one or two meetings at Drury House, but on finding that they projected violent means to gain their object, withdrew, and refused to hold any further communication with them. Lord Mountjoy, in common with the majority of people of consideration in the country, had desired to see the question of the succession settled, and, as we have seen, had been engaged in the intrigues for that purpose. His services were too valuable to be spared from Ireland, and his preparations for flight, and his fears, were ended by a comfortable letter from Elizabeth, assuring him of her confidence in his loyalty, and not dropping a hint of her knowledge that he had been engaged with Essex.

In his weakness, over which we grieve, and which can only be accounted for by the ascendancy which his chaplain had now gained over him, Essex requested that his secretary, Cuffe, might be brought before him, when he exhorted him to call to God and the Queen for mercy, and deserve it by confessing the whole truth: "For I," said he, "that must now pre-
"pare for another world, have resolved to deal
"clearly with God and the world, and must needs
"say this to you; you have been one of the chiefest
"instigators of me in all these my disloyal courses
"into which I have fallen."

Cuffe made no other reply than a complaint of his

Lordship's inconstancy, and betraying of his most devoted friends; a reproof which we are sorry to own the justice of, although his friends had begun by betraying him and themselves.

Mr. Chamberlain gives an account of the trial and subsequent events to Dudley Carleton, which may be supposed to represent the opinion and feeling of an uninterested bystander. After some account of the proceedings, he relates the heads of Essex's defence, and proceeds: —

This was the sum of his answer, but delivered with such bravery, and so many words, that a man might easily see that, as he had ever lived popularly, so his chief care was to leave a good opinion in the people's minds now at parting. But the worst of all, was his many and loud protestations of his faith and loyalty to the Queen and State, which no doubt caught and carried away a great part of his hearers: but I cannot be so easily led to believe protestations, though never so deep, against manifest proof; yet I must needs say, that one thing sticks much in many men's minds, that whereas divers preachers were commanded the Sunday before, to deliver to the people among his other treasons, that he had complotted with Tyrone, and was reconciled to the Pope — and whereas Mr. Attorney, at Tom Leigh's arraignment, averred the same combining with Tyrone, and that he had practised by the means of seminary priests, with the Pope and King of Spain, to be King of England — there was no such matter once mentioned at his arraignment; and yet there was time enough for it, from nine o'clock in the morning till almost seven at night.

At his coming to the bar, his countenance was somewhat unsettled, but after he was once in, I assure you I never saw any go through with such boldness and shew of resolution,

and contempt of death; but whether this courage was borrowed and put on for the time, or natural, it were hard to judge. But I hear he begins to relent, and, among other faults, to acknowledge and be sorry for, his arrogant, or rather, as the Secretary well termed it to his face, his impudent behaviour at his arraignment; and what is more, to lay open the whole plot, and appeach divers others not yet called in question. His execution was expected on Saturday, then yesterday, now to-morrow or Thursday. Most of the Council have been with him these three or four days together.

The Earl of Southampton spake very well, but methought somewhat too much, as well as the other, and as a man that would fain live, pleaded hard to acquit himself; but all in vain, for it could not be: whereon he descended to entreaty, and moved great commiseration; and though he were generally well liked, yet methought he was somewhat too low and submiss, and seemed too loth to die, before a proud enemy.

I do not well remember whether I sent you word of Tom Leigh's traitorous enterprise to surprise the Privy Chamber, which he communicated to Sir Henry Neville, that married my Lord Treasurer's daughter, and Sir Robert Crosse, who revealed him, both at once. Being arrested, he confessed his meaning was but to have gotten the Queen to have signed a warrant for the noblemen's delivery; at his trial, he affirmed his intent only to have argued her one half hour, that she might have lived the merrier all her life after. To this tune he died on the 17th of this present at Tyburn, very resolutely, and, to seeing, religiously.

This Captain Leigh, as appears by his trial, had offered his services to the Lord Admiral and Secretary to kill the Earl of Essex, and, after the latter was sent

to the Tower, made proposals to force the Queen to release those Earls, which, as related by Mr. Chamberlain, was immediately revealed to the ministers, and on search being made for Leigh, he was found, in the dusk of the evening, near the door of the Privy Chamber. He was tried for plotting to take away the Queen's life, and although it does not appear that he entertained any such intention, was condemned and executed for the same; which, "as the times were, appeared a very seasonable piece of rigor."

Besides Mr. Ashton, two other divines were now sent to Essex, Dr. Montford, Prebendary of Westminster, and Dr. Barlow, who, if their own report be trustworthy, so worked on the religious feelings and tender conscience of the Earl, that he made use of all kinds of extravagant expressions, such as that the Queen could not be in safety while he lived; that his crime was a leprosy, which had infected far and near; and that he desired to die. These ministers were sent by the faction which, having been so long striving to effect the ruin of the Earl of Essex, were now within one move of winning their game. This one was the most difficult; for, not only did Queen Elizabeth at all times affect the quality of clemency, — and in this case, however his enemies might endeavour to magnify the offence and its effects, she was too clear-sighted not to be aware how little real danger to herself or her crown was involved in the mad enterprise, if it may be so termed, of the Earl of Essex, — but she must have been more or less than woman, if his present unhappy situation had not re-

vived some feeling of tenderness and compassion towards the man who for years had been the object of her favour and affection. If the haughty and obstinate deportment which he had conceived it to be necessary to carry towards his mistress, had roused a spirit as haughty and obstinate as his own, and, for the time, extinguished her regard, surely at this moment, when his life depended on a stroke of her pen, the old feelings must have rushed back like a torrent into their former channel. Essex said that he did not despise her mercy, but he did not think he should sue too humbly for it. He had been condemned by his Peers for an act of treason against her; and though not unwilling to receive mercy, preferred death before a pardon, which was not the spontaneous act of the Queen against whom he had offended.

But the reader must not suppose that no efforts were made by others to obtain a reprieve at least, for the unhappy Essex. Lady Essex's appeal to Sir Robert Cecyll, breathed the deepest misery, and surely could not have been read by her husband's bitterest enemy without emotion.

No. XXXVII.[1]

Lady Essex to Cecyll.

Sir,—Although the answer I received from you two days since, gave me small encouragement to flatter myself that any importunity I could make should be able to appease the scandal you had conceived to be given you by my unfortunate

[1] Lansd. MSS. 88. 14.

husband; yet, had it not pleased God to pour upon me one affliction after another, and to add to the immeasurable sorrows of my heart so violent a sickness as I am not able of myself to stir out of my bed, I had presented unto your view the image of the unfortunate widow mentioned in the Scriptures, and had never ceased to pester you with my complaints till you had afforded me some assurance that whatsoever respects might depart you from so much as wishing my husband's good, yet that an afflicted and woful lady should not wholly lose her labor, or return desperate of such comforts as the last year you so honorably ministered unto me in a great affliction, though differing from this in quality. As I received then such noble courtesies from you as must never be forgotten, so be persuaded, I beseech you, that whatsoever new favor you shall now be pleased to add to the old, shall so bind me to reverence of your virtues, as I will resolve to reckon myself a bankeroute until I have yielded some demonstrative testimony of the best that the honestest heart can express for the worthiest benefit.

Honorable Sir, I know there be private causes to discourage me from moving, you hearing; yet, seeing the highest providence hath placed you in a calling most proper to be a mean for my comfort, and that former experience hath taught me that you are rather inclined to do good, than to look alway to private interest; I beseech you, even for your virtue's sake, perform this noble office for me, as to join with the rest of your Lordships of the Council in presenting my humblest supplication to Her Majesty.

Dear Sir, I pray you bear with these tedious blots from her feeble hand and sad sick heart, that is stored with much thankfulness and infinite best wishes unto you, who will ever rest your most beholding poor distressed servant,

FRANCES ESSEX.

Good Mr. Secretary, even as you desire of God that your

own son never be made orphan by the untimely or unnatural death of his dear father, vouchsafe a relenting, to the not urging, if you may not to the hindering, of that fatal warrant for execution, which if it be once signed, I shall never wish to breathe one hour after.

We see by this letter that Cecyll had been deeply offended by the unfounded accusation that he had supported the claim of the Infanta to the Crown, which was put forth by Essex on his trial; and that, in consequence, he had returned an unfavourable answer to a previous letter from Lady Essex. Whether this touching appeal produced an effect, or whether other motives actuated him, we have no means of ascertaining, but there is no doubt that he showed symptoms of relenting[1], which called forth the following letter.

No. XXXVIII.[2]

Ralegh to Cecyll.

[This letter is not dated, but endorsed 1601.]

Sir,—I am not wise enough to give you advice; but, if you take it for a good counsel to relent towards this tyrant, you will repent when it shall be too late. His malice is fixed, and will not evaporate by any of your mild courses; for he will ascribe the attention to Her Majesty's pusillanimity, and not to your good nature, knowing that you work upon her

[1] The opinion that Cecyll did not desire to put Essex to death, receives support from an expression of Sir John Harrington, in a letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1603. "Cecyll doth bear no love to Ralegh, as you well understand, in the matter of Essex." — Nug. Ant. ii. 342.

[2] Murdin, 811.

humor, and not out of any love towards him. The less you make him, the less he shall be able to harm you and yours; and if Her Majesty's favor fail him, he will again decline to a common person. For after-revenges fear them not; for your own father was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his son[1] followeth your father's son, and loveth him. Humors of men succeed not, but grow by occasion, and accidents of time and power. Somerset[2] made no revenge on the Duke of Northumberland's heirs. Northumberland[3] that now is, thinks not of Hatton's issue. Kelloway lives, that murdered the brother of Horsey, and Horsey let him go by all his life time. I could name a thousand of those; and therefore after-fears are but prophecies, or rather conjectures, from causes remote. Look to the present, and you do wisely.

His son shall be the youngest Earl of England but one, and if his father be now kept down, Will. Cecyll[4] shall be able to keep as many men at his heels as he, and more too. He may also match in a better house than his, and so that fear is not worth the fearing. But if the father continue, he will be able to break the branches, and pull up the tree, root and all. Lose not your advantage; if you do, I read your destiny.

[1] Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, beheaded 2nd June, 1572. His second son Thomas was restored in blood, and in 1597 summoned as Lord Howard de Walden; in 1603, he was created Earl of Suffolk; and in 1614, Lord Treasurer.

[2] Edward Seymour, son of the Protector, Duke of Somerset. Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, obtained an act depriving Edward Seymour of his titles and lands, which had not been forfeited by the pretended offence for which his father had been executed. He was created Earl of Hertford, 1 Eliz.

[3] Henry Percy, eighth Earl, was found dead in the Tower, whither he had been committed on a charge of conspiring with the Guises to release Mary, Queen of Scots. The coroner's jury returned a verdict that he had killed himself; but suspicions were cast on a servant of Sir Christopher Hatton, who had lately been appointed to attend him.

[4] Sir Robert Cecyll's son.

Let the Queen hold Bothwell while she hath him; he will ever be the canker of her state and safety. Princes are lost by security, and preserved by prevention. I have seen the last of her good days, and all ours, after his liberty.

Yours, &c.
W. R.

The first part of this letter would have been equally applicable to the situation of the parties during the summer of the preceding year, but the name of Bothwell, by which Ralegh designates Essex in the latter part, fixes it clearly for this period. Francis Stuart, descended from a natural son of James IV., had been created Earl of Bothwell, and Lord Admiral of Scotland, by James VI. Turbulent and ambitious, these honours did not satisfy him; he desired to govern the country. He was constantly engaged in intrigues; made several attempts to obtain possession of the King's person by violence, in one of which he was successful; was pardoned in 1593; again declared a traitor, he was forced to fly the country, and died at Naples, 1612.

We are in the dark respecting the petition offered to the Queen herself in behalf of Essex: one thing only is certain, that he did not make any direct appeal to Her Majesty for mercy. Yet we can scarcely believe that he was destitute of all hope of a reprieve, but rather suppose that he was himself taken by surprise when the order for execution arrived; for it is a remarkable fact, that he never saw his wife or son, nor took a last farewell of them or any of his friends,

nor had expressed a wish to see any of them.[1] We come then to the consideration of what private communication he may have made to the Queen, and of the celebrated story of the ring which he is said to have sent to her. After carefully examining the authorities, I incline to believe in its truth; but as doubts have been thrown upon the authenticity of the facts stated, I lay before the reader, to enable him to form his own judgment, the original relation as given by M. Aubery de Maurier, and the story as told in England by Lady Elizabeth Spelman, with some other extracts bearing on the question.

Il ne sera pas inutile ni désagréable d'ajouter ici ce que le même Prince Maurice tenoit de M. Carleton, ambassadeur d'Angleterre en Hollande, qui est mort secrétaire d'état, si fort connu sous le nomme de Milord Dorchester, homme d'un très-grand mérite; que la reine Elisabeth donna une bague au Comte d'Essex dans la plus grande ardeur de sa passion, lui disant qu'il la gardât bien; et quoiqu'il pût faire, en lui rendant ce dépôt, qu'elle lui pardonneroit. Depuis les en-

[1] An additional argument may be brought forward to support this view, viz. the absence of any testamentary paper of a date subsequent to the birth of his son. The will of Lord Essex, proved by his son in 1616, is in the Prerogative Court. It is dated in 1591, previous to the Norman expedition; leaves to the Countess for life, the manors of Teinton, Bicknor, and Dymock, Gloucester; Merevale in Warwick and Leicester, with all the possessions of that dissolved monastery, including "the empaled ground containing deer, called Merevale Park;" and the manors of Llanthomas and Hay, otherwise Gelly, in Brecknockshire; with all plate, household stuff, &c. that she had in common use. By a law paper in S. P. O. Dom. 1595, which appears to be an abstract of the remainders of the estates of Lord Essex, it appears that Essex House was in remainder to "Walter Devereux, the base reputed son of Rob. Earl of Essex, begotten of the body of Elizabeth Southwell."

nemis du Comte l'ayant emporté sur l'esprit de la reine, et d'ailleurs se trouvant irritée du mépris que le Comte faisoit de sa beauté, que l'âge ruinoit, elle lui fit faire son procès, et dans le temps de sa condamnation, attendoit toujours qu'il lui rendit cette bague pour lui donner grâce, selon sa parole. Le comte, dans la dernière extrémité, eut recours à la femme de l'amiral Howard, sa parente, et la fit supplier par une personne confidente, de bailler cette bague à la reine en main propre; mais son mari, l'un des ennemis capitaux du comte, à qui elle le dit imprudemment, l'ayant empêchée de s'acquitter de sa commission, elle consentit à sa mort, indignée contre un esprit si fier et si altier, qui aimoit mieux mourir que de recourir à sa clémence.

Quelque temps après, cette amirale étant tombée malade et abandonnée des médecins, envoya dire à la reine qu'elle avoit une chose de grande importance à lui dire devant que de mourir. La reine étant au chevet de son lit, ayant fait retirer tout le monde, l'amirale lui rendit hors de temps cette bague du Comte d'Essex, s'excusant de ne lui avoir pû donner plûtot, sur ce que son mari l'en avoit empêchée. La reine se retira aussitôt frappée d'une douleur mortelle, fut quinze jours à soupirer, sans presque prendre de nourriture, se couchant tout habillée, et se relevant cent fois la nuit. Enfin elle mourut de faim et de douleur.

J'espère que les lecteurs curieux seront bien aises de savoir ces particularités et ces secrets de cette grande princesse, que mon père avoit appris de M. le Prince Maurice.[1]

Now let us compare this relation with the story as it descends to us from Lady Elizabeth Spelman, the great-grand-daughter of Sir Robert Cary, afterwards

[1] Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire d'Hollande, par Messire Louis Aubery, Seigneur de Maurier, p. 260. Paris, 1688.

Earl of Monmouth.[1] Sir Robert Cary left memoirs of his life, in which was an account of the last illness and death of Queen Elizabeth, of whom he says, that when he came to Court, he found the Queen ill, but that hearing of his arrival she sent for him. After he had kissed her hand, and said, his chief happiness was to see her in health, which he hoped might long continue, she took his hand, wrung it hard, and replied, "No, Robin, I am not well;" and then, discoursing of her indisposition, told him that her heart had been sad and heavy these ten or twelve days; and, while talking, she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs.

Lady E. Spelman's story was, that when the Countess of Nottingham was dying, she sent to entreat the Queen to visit her, as she had something to reveal before she could die in peace. On the Queen's coming, Lady Nottingham told her that when the Earl of Essex was lying under sentence of death, he was desirous to ask Her Majesty's mercy in the manner she had prescribed during the

[1] Sir Robert Cary, born 1559, Earl of Monmouth, ob. 1639, æt. 80. = Eliz. Trevanion.

Henry, E. of Monmouth, ob. 1661. = Martha, daughter of Lionel Cranfield, E. of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer.

Two sons and eight daughters, of whom, Martha, mar. 1667, = John. E. of Middleton. Lady Eliz. Spelman.

height of his favour. Being doubtful of those about him, and unwilling to trust any of them, he called a boy whom he saw passing beneath his window, and whose appearance pleased him, and engaged him to carry the ring, which he threw down to him, to the Lady Scrope, a sister of Lady Nottingham, and a friend of the Earl, who was also in attendance on the Queen, and to beg her to present it to Her Majesty. The boy, by mistake, took it to Lady Nottingham, who showed it to her husband in order to take his advice. The Earl forbade her to carry it to the Queen, or return any answer to the message, but desired her to retain the ring. Lady Nottingham having made this confession, entreated the Queen's forgiveness; but Elizabeth exclaiming, "God "may forgive you, but I never can!" left the room in great emotion, and was so much agitated and distressed that she refused to go to bed, nor would she for a long time take any sustenance.[1]

M. de Maurier's account, which he states to have received from his father, was printed about eighty years after the events had occurred. Sir Dudley Carleton, the alleged authority, was ambassador in Holland under James I. That the story was not then told for the first time, we learn from Lord Clarendon, who, in his "younger days," wrote a "Disparity between the Earl of Essex and the Duke "of Buckingham," in reply to Sir Henry Wotton's

[1] The story of the ring is also related in a little book called "Secret History of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex," by a "Person of Quality." Printed at Cologne, 1695, and in London without date.

"Parallel" between them. He did not believe in that "loose report which hath crept in," of the Queen's expressing much grief for his death, on the delivery of the ring by Lady Nottingham. We shall see, presently, that the Queen did not wait for that event to express her grief for the loss of Essex. Lady Elizabeth Spelman was the descendant of Sir Robert Cary; but the anecdote related by her could scarcely have come from him, or he would have mentioned it in his memoirs, the manuscript of which was given by Lady Elizabeth to the Earl of Cork, by whom they were edited. Clarendon's doubt only shows at how early a period the story of the ring was current; that it was not more generally known is not surprising, if we consider that the knowledge of the circumstance was confined to the Queen, the Earl of Nottingham, and probably Lady Scrope. Sir Dudley Carleton returned from his mission to Holland in 1618; Clarendon was born in 1608, entered Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1621, and while a student may be supposed to have written his "Disparity."

There are two rings, claiming to be the identical one retained so fatally by Lady Nottingham, which ought to be noticed here. The one is preserved at Hawnes, in Bedfordshire, and is now in the possession of the Rev. Lord John Thynne, from whom I have received the following history.

It has descended from Lady Frances Devereux, afterwards Duchess of Somerset, in unbroken succession from mother to daughter, according to the following table: —

Lady Frances Devereux, daughter of Robert, second Earl of Essex. = William, Earl of Hertford.

Mary = Heneage, Earl of Winchilsea.

Frances = Thomas Thynne, first Viscount Weymouth.

Frances = Sir Robert Worsley, of Appuldurcombe.

Frances = John Carteret, Earl Granville.

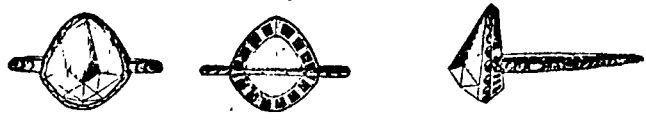
Louisa = Thomas, second Viscount Weymouth, whose second son, Henry Frederick Thynne, became heir to his uncle, Earl Granville.

A very clear descent is thus made; but it must, on the other hand, be remarked, that in the very long, curious, and minute will of the Duchess of Somerset, no mention is made of any such ring. Whether it be *the* ring or not, it is, both as a work of art, and as an historical relic, of great value and high interest.

The ring, of which an engraving is annexed, is

gold, the sides are engraved, and the inside set in blue enamel: the stone is a sardonyx, on which is cut in relief a head of Elizabeth, the execution of which is of a high order.

The second ring, which is represented in the following cut, is the property of C. W. Warner, Esq.



This ring was given by Charles I. to Sir Thomas Warner, the settler of Antigua, Nevis, and other islands in the West Indies. It has continued in the possession of his descendants to the present time, with the tradition attached to it, on what authority is not known, that it is the identical ring given by Queen Elizabeth to Essex. But there is also another tradition of interest attached to it, which may interfere with its claims to be the Essex ring: namely, that it was sent to Elizabeth by Mary, Queen of Scots, together with some lines by Buchanan. The stone is a diamond of the size represented in the engraving, set in gold, inlaid with black enamel at the back and sides.

Let us now resume our narrative. What a hurricane of passions and emotions, pride and anger struggling against tenderness and love, must have torn the heart of Elizabeth during the week that elapsed between the condemnation and the execution of Essex. Urged by the dominant faction, she signed the warrant for execution; relenting, she sent Edmund Cary to countermand it. Days passed, yet no petition, no token reached her from the prisoner; the serpent Ralegh and the vindictive Cobham at her ear, com-

paring Essex to Bothwell and to Guise, and persuading her that he had himself declared his continuing to live incompatible with her safety—incredible tale! Under his supposed obstinacy in refusing to implore her mercy, her anger was again awakened, and aided too well the machinations of his enemies. She sent off Mr. Darcy with an order to execute the warrant, which this time was not recalled.

On the evening of the 24th of February, it was made known to Essex, that on the following morning he would undergo the sentence of the law. The execution was to take place within the Tower, it is said at his own request, lest he should be "hoven "up" by the acclamations of the citizens. Strict injunctions were given that he should not be permitted to speak of the nature of his offence, or of his associates, but confine himself to a simple declaration of his treason.

It was well to say that Essex had himself desired to be executed in private; but there can be little doubt no option was given to him. The true reason was, that Essex was now as ever the darling of the people, who could not be made to believe that he had received a fair trial. So powerful was this feeling in his favour, that the popularity of the Queen seemed to die with him; after his death, she was greeted no longer with cheers and acclamations, but was received in mournful silence when she appeared in public. Her councillors, who were thought to have hunted him to death, were met by expressions of hatred and insult.

Our narrative of the last moments of the Earl of Essex, has been selected from the numerous manuscript accounts which exist, some by spectators, and all by cotemporaries.

On Tuesday night, between eleven and twelve, he opened the casement of his window, and spoke to the guards: "My good friends, pray for me, and to-morrow "I shall leave an example behind me you shall "all remember; you shall see in me a strong God in "a weak man. I have nothing to give you, for I have "nothing left but that which I must pay to the "Queen to-morrow, in the morning."

On Wednesday morning he arose about one o'clock, and desired Dr. Mountford, Dr. Barlow, and his chaplain Mr. Ashton, to join with him in those exercises that might best prepare him for death; saying to them, "God so bless you as you comfort me." About seven he was brought forth by the Lieutenant of the Tower, accompanied by the three divines, and sixteen partisans of the guard, to the scaffold, which was erected in the high court above Cæsar's tower; it was raised some four feet high, was three yards wide, and railed round. The Earl was dressed in a black wrought velvet gown, and a black satin suit, with a black felt hat. He prayed aloud all the way from his chamber to the scaffold, saying, "O God! give me "true repentance, true patience, and true humility, "and put all worldly thoughts out of my mind." His countenance was neither light nor dejected, as with a steady step he mounted the scaffold and approached the block, which was a piece of wood, some half a

bow over, and half a yard long, rounded at the upper side. On a seat placed near the scaffold, were the Earls of Cumberland and Hertford, Lord Thomas Howard, Constable of the Tower, Viscount Bindon, Lords Darcy and Compton, who were ordered to attend the execution; many knights and gentlemen, and some aldermen of the city, in all about 100 persons.

The Earl, after some small pacing, drew near the Lords, and then with some bowing of his body and delivering away his hat, he spoke in a distinct and serious manner, with his eyes lifted up to heaven:—

My Lords, and you, my Christian brethren, that are appointed by God to see me die, I confess, to the glory of God, that I am a most wretched sinner, and that my sins are more in number than the hairs of my head; that I have bestowed my youth in wantonness, lust, and uncleanness; that I have been puffed up with pride, vanity, and love of this wicked world's pleasures; and that, notwithstanding many good motions inspired into me from the spirit of God, the good I would, I have not done, and the evil that I would not, that I have done; for all which I beseech my Saviour Christ to be a mediator to the Eternal Majesty for my pardon, especially for this my last sin,—this great, this bloody, this crying, this infectious sin,—whereby too many for love of me have been drawn to offend God, to offend their Sovereign, and to offend the world. I beseech God to forgive it us, and to forgive me, the most wicked of all. I beseech Her Majesty, the State, and the Ministers thereof, to forgive it us. The Lord grant Her Majesty a prosperous reign, and a long, if it be His will. O Lord! grant her a wise and an understanding heart! O Lord! bless her and the nobles and ministers of the Church

and State! And I beseech you and the world to have a charitable opinion of me for my intention towards Her Majesty, whose death, upon my salvation, and before God, I protest I never meant, nor violence to her person; yet I confess I have received an honorable trial, and am justly condemned. And I desire all the world to forgive me, even as I do freely, and from my heart, forgive all the world. And whereas I have been condemned for my religion, I was never, I thank God, atheist nor papist: for I never denied the power of my God not believing the word and scriptures; neither did I ever trust to be justified by my own works or merits, but hope, as a true Christian, for my salvation from God, only by the merits and mercy of my Saviour Jesus Christ, crucified for my sins. This faith I was brought up in, and therein am now ready to die, beseeching you all to join yourselves with me in prayer, not with eyes and lips only, but with lifted up hearts and minds to the Lord for me, that my soul may be lifted up above all earthly things: for now I will give myself up to my private prayer; yet, for that I beseech you all to join with me, I will speak that you may hear.

Then returning to the block, he took off his gown and ruff; he told the chaplains that having been often in places of danger where death was not so present and certain, he had felt the weakness of the flesh, and therefore he hoped God would strengthen him in this conflict, that the flesh should have no power over him. He asked for the executioner, who on his knees entreated his pardon; to whom he replied, "Thou art "welcome to me, I forgive thee; thou art the minister "of true justice." He then, with his eyes fixed upon heaven, and long and passionate pauses, began his prayers.

O God! creator of all things, and judge of all men, thou hast let me know by warrant of thy word, that Satan is then most busy when our end is nearest, and that Satan being resisted, will fly: I humbly beseech you so to assist me in this my last combat; and since thou acceptest our desires as acts, accept of my desire to resist him with true resistance, and perfect by thy grace what thou seest to be frail; and give me patience to be as becometh me in this just punishment, inflicted upon me by so honorable a trial. Grant me the inward comfort of thy spirit! Let thy spirit seal unto my soul an assurance of thy mercies! Lift my soul above all earthly cogitations, and when my soul and body shall part, send thy blessed angels to be near unto me, which may convey it to the joys of heaven.

He next said the Lord's Prayer, and afterwards the Creed, one of the divines saying it softly before him, and ended with this ejaculation: "Lord Jesus receive "my soul, into thy hands I commend my spirit!" He then prayed for forgiveness to his enemies, because they bare the image of God as well as himself. Then inquiring of the executioner how he should dispose himself towards the block, and his doublet being removed, in a scarlet waistcoat he bowed himself towards the block, saying, "O God! give me true humility, "and patience to endure to the end; and I pray you "all to pray with me and for me, that when you shall "see me stretch out my arms and my neck on the "block, and the stroke ready to be given, it would "please the ever living God to send down his angels "to carry my soul before his mercy seat."

Then lifting up his eyes devoutly to heaven, he

said: "Lord God, as unto thine altar do I come, "offering up my body and soul for a sacrifice, in "humility and obedience to thy commandment, to "thy ordinance, and to thy good pleasure. O "God! I prostrate myself to my deserved punish-"ment." And so lying flat on the boards, with his hands stretched out, he said, "Lord have mercy upon "me, thy prostrate servant!" He was desired by one of the divines to say the beginning of the 51st Psalm, "Have mercy on me, O God," &c., whereof when he had said two verses, he uttered these words, "Execu-"tioner, strike home! Lord Jesus! come, Lord Jesus! "and receive my soul. O Lord! into thy hands I "commend my spirit!" in the midst of which sentence his head was severed from his body at three blows; the first of which, however, deprived him of all sense and motion.

The executioner then took the head, in which the eyes remained open and turned towards heaven, and the expression of the face unchanged, and holding it up, cried, "God save the Queen!"

The body and head were then removed into the Tower, put into a coffin ready prepared, and buried by the Earl of Arundel and Duke of Norfolk.[1]

So perished the gallant and accomplished Essex, in the pride and vigour of life; he was thirty-three years, three months, and fifteen days old at his execution. Brave, eloquent, generous, and sincere, —

[1] The Queen ordered that the banner and hatchment of the Earl of Essex as Knight of the Garter should not be removed from St. George's Chapel.

proud, imprudent, and violent,—his fate is a lesson. Endowed with talents and qualities that placed him far above the majority of men, his unrestrained and ungoverned passions ruined himself and some of his dearest friends, and brought on them the traitor's doom.

CHAPTER VI.

LIFE OF ROBERT EARL OF ESSEX—*concluded.*

CHARACTER OF ESSEX. — HIS WRITINGS — LIBERALITY — CHILDREN. — FATE OF ESSEX'S COMPANIONS. — POPULAR FEELING RESPECTING ESSEX. — BACON'S "DECLARATION OF THE TREASONS OF THE LATE EARL OF ESSEX." — ANTHONY BACON DEFENDS ESSEX TO THE LAST. — ELIZABETH'S MELANCHOLY, GRIEF FOR ESSEX'S LOSS, AND DEATH. — FAVOUR SHOWN BY JAMES I. TO ESSEX'S FRIENDS. — ATTAINDER OF RALEGH, GREY, AND COBHAM. — NORTHUMBERLAND ARRAIGNED. — MOUNTJOY RETURNS FROM IRELAND, MARRIES LADY RICH. — HIS DISGRACE AND DEATH. — DESCRIPTION BY MORYSON.

THE character of the Earl of Essex may be fairly judged from his life and letters; but he must have possessed qualities of the most attractive and endearing nature, which cannot be there discerned, if it be true, as Lord Clarendon tells us, that love for the memory of his father was one of the chief causes which, forty years afterwards, made the last Earl of Essex the most popular nobleman of his time.

Yet we are not without some precise information respecting the late Earl. Sir Henry Wotton[1], one of his secretaries, has described his person and habits. Tall, strong, and able-bodied, he was not graceful in his movements, and bent a little forward in the neck. His hands were incomparably fair, and of fine shape, which, though it be but feminine praise, he inherited from his father. He was not a good dancer; was

[1] Reliq. Wott. 171.

thoughtful and reserved in countenance, and generally more so at meals, when others are most cheerful. He used to say that the time he preferred to consider and solve any knotty business, was when he had checked his appetite with two or three morsels, after which he sat usually a good while silent.

As he became more attentive to business, so he became less curious in his dress, insomuch that those about him thought that, sometimes, when he went up to the Queen, he scarce knew what he had on. This was his manner: his chamber being commonly crowded with friends and suitors, when he was up he gave his legs, arms, and breast to his ordinary servants to button and dress him, with little heed; his head and face to his barber; his eyes to his letters, and ears to his petitioners; and many times all at once. Then the gentleman of his robes throwing a cloak over his shoulders, he would make a step into his closet, and after a short prayer he was gone. Only in his baths he was somewhat delicate. For point of diet and luxury, he was very inordinate in his appetite; and of so indifferent a taste, that he would stop in the midst of any physical potion, lick his lips, and then swallow the rest.

He never spoke ill of any one; only against Henry Lord Cobham he forswore all patience, calling him, even to the Queen, the sycophant *per excellentiam;* and one lady, whom, for her sex's sake, Sir Henry forbears to nominate, he termed the spider of the Court.

He was a bad philosopher, being a great resenter and a weak dissembler; and herein no good pupil of my Lord of Leicester, who put all his passions in his pocket.

In 1588, when he was made M. A. of Oxford, he was esteemed one of the best poets among the nobility of England. There are not many poems extant known to be from his pen; one beginning[1] "There "was a time when silly bees could speak," is printed in Walpole's "Royal and Noble Authors." Several sonnets are in the Ashmolean Library, Oxon, of which the following is one: —

There is none, oh! none but you,
  Who from me estrange the sight,
Whom mine eyes affect to view,
  And chain'd ears hear with delight.

Other's beauties, others move,
  In you I all the graces find;
Such are the effects of love,
  To make them happy that are kind.

Women in frail beauty trust,
  Only seem you kind to me;
Still be truly kind and just,
  For that can't dissembled be.

Dear, afford me then your sight,
  That surveying all your looks,
Endless volumes I may write,
  And fill the world with endless books.

[1] This is said to have been written "during his first discontentment and absence from Court," in July, August, 1598.

Which when after ages view,
All shall wonder and despair,
Women to find a man so true,
And men, a woman half so fair.

On one occasion, when the Queen showed some appearance of coolness towards him, he wrote a song, which he caused to be sang before her, of which the burthen was —

And if thou should'st by her be now forsaken,
She made thy heart too strong for to be shaken.

He was an acute and sound speaker when he was in earnest; the letters in this memoir afford abundant proof of his talents as an epistolary writer, not merely in the exaggerated style of euphuism in which it was the fashion of the day to address the Queen, but his public letters are worthy of admiration. I would especially call attention to his letter on the state of Ireland, of the 25th June, 1599, addressed to the Queen; by following the advice contained in it, his successor, Mountjoy, who had, fortunately, more able co-operators, and more seasoned soldiers than Essex, succeeded in subduing that kingdom. His Latin letters are said to afford excellent proof of his scholarship. Of his other writings, his "Darling "Piece of Love and Self-love" is particularly named by Sir H. Wotton. It is, I believe, not extant. His apology to Mr. A. Bacon has been often printed. One of a different kind I have placed in the Appendix; it is a device made by the Earl of Essex for the entertainment of Her Majesty.

His liberality was great, especially towards men of genius and learning, in whose society he delighted. He had a great respect for eminent divines; with these feelings he had a kind of filial regard both for Archbishop Whitgift and Mr. Cartwright, who was the principal Puritan divine of the day. He was a great admirer of Spenser, whose patron he would doubtless have been, had not that poet been attached to Sir Walter Ralegh. But Spenser dying in great distress, he was buried in Westminster Abbey at the expense of Lord Essex. As Ralegh was of Spenser, so Southampton was the patron of Shakspeare; but it is not to be doubted that the noble friends often enjoyed together the society of the great dramatist. In the opening chorus of the fifth act of Henry V., some mention is made of him being then in Ireland; and of the welcome home that he will receive when he brings "rebellion broached upon his sword."

The Earl of Essex, by his wife Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip Sidney, left three sons and two daughters.

Robert, baptized 22nd January, 1591.
Walter, baptized 21st January, 1592.
Henry, baptized 14th April, 1595.
Frances, born 30th September, 1599.
Dorothy, born about 20th December, 1600.

The second and third sons died young. Lady Frances Devereux was married at Drayton Basset, on the 3rd March, 1617, to Sir William Seymour, afterwards Marquis of Hertford and Duke of Somerset,

widower of the unfortunate Lady Arabella Stewart, and died in 1674.

Lady Dorothy was married at the church of St. Lawrence Pountney, London, the 18th May, 1615, to Sir Henry Shirley, Bart., of Stanton Harold, who died 8th February, 1634; and secondly, to William Stafford, Esq., of Blatherwyke, in Northamptonshire. By the second marriage she had no issue, and died 30th March, 1636.

These ladies became ultimately co-heiresses to their brother.

The Countess of Essex found a third husband in the person of that Richard de Burgh, Earl of Clanrickarde, who was said to bear some resemblance to her late husband. This marriage took place about the time of the Queen's death. Mr. Chamberlain writes from London on the 12th April, 1603:—"Here is a common bruit that the Earl of "Clanrickarde hath married my Lady of Essex, "wherewith many that wished her well are nothing "pleased. The speech goes that the King hath taken "order, and sent her word that her son shall be "brought up with the young princes."[1]

The companions in crime and misfortune of the Earl of Essex were disposed of in the following manner.

The Earl of Southampton was reprieved, but re-

[1] S. P. O. The Earl of Clanrickarde was, in 4 Chas. I., created Earl of St. Alban's. He died 1636, and the title became extinct on the death of his son, *s. p.*

mained a prisoner until the accession of James[1], when he was restored in blood and honours, and created a Knight of the Garter.

Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir John Davis, Sir Gilly Meyrick, and Henry Cuffe, were tried and condemned at Westminster, the 5th March. The first two were beheaded on Tower Hill. Meyrick and Cuffe were hanged at Tyburn. Sir John Davis, after a year's imprisonment, received the Queen's pardon.

Sir Henry Neville, for having been privy to the treasonable councils at Drury House, and not revealing the same, was confined in the Tower during the remainder of this reign.

Mr. Lyttelton, a man of large fortune and great ability, who had been of the council at Drury House, was tried with Sir Edward Bainham, and Orell, an old soldier. They were condemned. Mr. Lyttelton purchased a reprieve, by paying Sir Walter Ralegh 10,000*l*, who also obtained a remission of Bainham's sentence on similar terms. If he dealt largely in this line among the prisoners, Sir Walter must have made a very pretty profit out of the Essex insurrection.

Of the other prisoners, some were pardoned, others imprisoned, and most of them fined; but very few among them paid their fines.

The popular feeling was so strongly manifested, that even Elizabeth thought it was necessary to

[1] "The 10th of this month the Earl of Southampton and Sir Henry Neville were delivered out of the Tower by a warrant from the King." —Chamberlain to Carleton, 12th April, 1603.

justify the severe measures which had been taken. Dr. Barlow, one of the divines who had attended Essex in the Tower, was accordingly ordered to preach a sermon on the subject at Paul's Cross, on Sunday, the 1st March; while Mr. Francis Bacon drew up a "Declaration of the practices and treasons "attempted and committed by the late Robert, Earl "of Essex, and his complices." Clarendon thought that no expression of regret to his memory, friends, or dependents, could weigh down these, which he declared to be two of the most pestilent libels against his fame, that ever were published against any malefactor.

Of the divine and his sermon I have nothing to say; he was a labourer hired for a given purpose, and soon received his wages in the shape of two prebendal stalls in the churches of St. Paul's and Westminster. But what shall we say to Bacon, who, not now sheltered under the wretched plea of his duty as an advocate, did not scruple to use all his ingenuity, not merely to aggravate the offences of which his generous friend had notoriously been guilty, but to pervert facts, and charge him with other and more heinous crimes, which they had not ventured to hint at in Court, because they knew well how unsubstantial they would be proved. He endeavoured to excuse himself, saying that he furnished but the language, and was not answerable for the matter. How weak an excuse, must be evident to every one; and all he gained by it was a share in the universal dislike which attended the enemies of Essex. On the death of Elizabeth,

not venturing to present himself, he wrote an abject letter to Southampton, full of professions of respect and regard, which doubtless were received with the contempt they merited. Subsequently he wrote to Mountjoy, then Earl of Devonshire, an apology, touching his conduct towards the late Earl of Essex, a weak defence of undeniable baseness. It was not until 1607, that he received the reward which had tempted him to commit these meannesses. In that year he was made Solicitor General, when his great talents and insinuating address rapidly bore him to the highest point of his profession, only that he might be cast down with the more overwhelming crash.

Of Anthony Bacon's fate but little is known. He is said to have died in Essex House, but the time of his death is uncertain, except that it took place before the accession of James I. The diseases under which he had so long suffered, and whose aggravation probably terminated his life, must have been a complete bar to any active exertion on his part: yet it is gratifying to know, that the qualities of baseness and ingratitude, which attach so disgracefully to his brother Francis, are not to be found in him; and that some aspersions having been cast upon the honour of his deceased friend and patron, he took means to clear his reputation. It appears to me that the charge of a weak confession of guilt, at the expense of his associates, has already been removed from the memory of Lord Essex; the evidence of the well-informed writer of the letter from which the following extract has been made, may, however, add weight to that opinion.

No. XXXIX.[1]

A. Bacon to ———.

Sir,—I perceive by your letters, many strange reports are spread of a confession my L. of Essex should make before his death, wherein his honor hath, as you say, been much touched, and your desire is to receive some satisfaction concerning the same. And surely, I confess, you cannot give me a more pleasing subject to write of, than the discovery of that truth, by which any unworthy aspersion of dishonor may be removed from his memorial, whose life was so dear unto me, and of whose noble virtues I had so great experience.

After his L. condemnation, upon his suit to the Lords, there was sent to him one Ashton, that was preacher in his house, a man base, fearful, and mercenary; but such a one as by a formal shew of zeal, had gotten a good opinion of that noble Lord, who that way, being himself most religious, might easily be deceived. How the man was prepared, I touch not; but how he dealt, the substance of which was his own confession to a worthy person, as he well knoweth, I will fully relate unto you. At his coming to my L. he found his L. exceeding cheerful, and prepared with great contentation for his end, with whom he began to deal to this effect.

The rest of the letter contains the account already given, of the manner in which Ashton obtained a confession from Essex, and then by his threats and reproaches induced him to make confession to the Lords, which after all only amounted to the fact, that

[1] Camd. Ann. edition by Hearne, 1717, in the Appendix. The letter is dated, "From my chamber in London, 30th May, 1601," but not signed.

his intention was to establish the title of the King of Scots to the succession.

I have observed that Sir Robert Cecyll commenced a correspondence with King James immediately after the death of the Earl of Essex, by the agency of those ambassadors who had been sent at the instance of the latter. He used every endeavour to keep this from the Queen's knowledge, but there was a party of which he was yet more jealous; this consisted of his quondam allies, Cobham and Ralegh, who, with the Earl of Northumberland[1], had formed themselves into an opposition to the Secretary at the English Court, and endeavoured to supplant him with James. Lord Henry Howard, who carried on the Scotch correspondence for Cecyll, called them the diabolical triplicity, and insinuated that Lady Arabella Stewart was the person they desired to see on the throne, a woman being more tractable than a man. In fact, from the time Essex was removed, Elizabeth appears to have been little thought of; all her devoted servants were paying court to her successor, as she soon discovered. Well might she exclaim, that times were altered with her, and she had no one now to trust.

This feeling must have added poignancy to her

[1] Northumberland was a weak and intemperate man, although so learned as, from his pursuit of science, to gain the sobriquet of the Wizard Earl; possessing no judgment, and often engaged in quarrels, in which he was usually worsted, as in the cases of Southampton and Sir Francis Vere. His separation from Lady Northumberland in October, 1599, has been mentioned; they became reconciled in the summer of 1601. Lady Northumberland died in 1619, her husband in 1632.

regrets for the loss of Essex; yet, although she struggled gallantly, affected youthful vigour, and insisted on making her annual progress, she could not persuade her courtiers to worship the setting sun. The accounts of her grief, her despondency and illness, are extremely curious.

Sir John Harrington, Elizabeth's godson, who had accompanied Essex to Ireland, and was knighted by him, came to the Court in October, 1601. He says, "The Queen was reduced to a skeleton; altered "in her features; her taste for dress gone. Nothing "pleased her; she stamped and swore violently at "the ladies of the Court, whom she tormented beyond "measure."

Sir John again visited her at the end of December, 1602; he was asked if he had seen Tyrone. He replied, that he had seen him with the Lord Deputy. She looked up with grief and choler in her countenance, and said, "Oh! now it mindeth me that you "was one that saw this man elsewhere;" and dropping a tear, smote her bosom.[1]

Comte Harlay de Beaumont was the French Ambassador at the Court of London, and we have extracts from his original despatches, by M. Von Raumer[2], and from copies of them by Dr. Birch.[3]

In May and June, 1602, the Queen told De Beaumont that she was tired of life, for nothing now con-

[1] Nug. Antiquæ, i. 322.

[2] History of 16th and 17th Centuries, translated from the German, vol. ii. pp. 101. passim. London, 1835.

[3] Mem. of Queen Elizabeth, 1754.

tented her spirit, or gave her any enjoyment. She talked to him of Essex with sighs, and almost with tears. She said, that she foresaw his impatient spirit would involve him in misfortunes; that she had warned him, "qu'il se contentât de prendre "plaisir de lui déplaire à toutes occasions, et de "mépriser sa personne insolemment, comme il faisoit, "et qu'il se gardât bien de toucher à son sceptre." De Beaumont proceeds to say, that finding the subject moved her too much, he gave the conversation another turn.

A letter to a Scotch nobleman from his correspondent in England, also quoted by Dr. Birch, says: "Our Queen is troubled with a rheum in her arm, "which vexeth her very much, besides the grief "which she hath conceived for the death of my Lord "of Essex. She sleepeth not so much by day as she "used, neither taketh rest by night. Her delight is "to sit in the dark, and sometimes with shedding "tears to bewail Essex."[1]

De Beaumont reports, in November, 1602, that—

The Queen, though she has suffered from pains of the stone, and flux of blood from the bladder, is restored to health; her eye is lively, and her spirits good. A new inclination, supposed to be for the Earl of Clanrickarde, a handsome, brave Irishman, who is said to resemble Essex; but he is cold, and hath not sufficient understanding to lift himself. The Queen declares she cannot love him, as he recalls her sorrow for the Earl. This occupies the whole Court.

[1] Birch, ii. 506. The original is in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh.

13*th March*, 1603 (New Style).—The Queen would not receive De Beaumont, alleging her mourning for Lady Nottingham.

15*th March*.—The Queen has been unwell these seven or eight days.

19*th March*.—Sickness has been the cause of the Queen not shewing, not her grief for Lady Nottingham, as alleged to me. She does not sleep, eats little; some think her disorder proceeds from dissatisfaction at what has taken place with respect to Miss Arabella [this was the project for marrying Lady Arabella Stewart to William Seymour]; some that it proceeds from Irish affairs [the pardon of Tyrone]; others that sorrow for the Earl of Essex has taken possession of her. It is certain that she has displayed great melancholy.

28*th March*.—The Queen quite exhausted; some days ago she said, I no longer desire to live, and desire to die. She speaks not a word for three hours together. For the last two days has her finger almost continually in her mouth, and sits on cushions without ever rising, or laying herself quite down, her eyes open, and fixed on the ground.

Dr. Lingard has quoted from a manuscript, said to be an account by the "fair young Mrs. Southwell." That lady was a very short time maid of honour. We find, in the Sidney Correspondence, that she was appointed in November, 1599, on the death of Mrs. Ratcliffe; but on the 23rd December, she appears as "My Lady Mollins, she that was Mrs. South-" well, the maid of honor." It is doubtful, therefore, whether she was an eye-witness of the Queen's last illness.

Mr. Chamberlain writes to Mr. Dudley Carleton an account of her illness, to which we also append a

curious account in French, which is in the State Paper Office, said to be written by Mr. D. Carleton.[1]

30*th March*, 1603.—I had good means to understand how the world went, and find her disease to be nothing but a settled and unremovable melancholy, insomuch that she could not be won or persuaded, neither by the council, divines, physicians, nor by the women about her, once to taste or touch any physic, though ten or twelve physicians that were continually about her, did assure her, with all manner of asseveration, of perfect and easy recovery, if she would follow their advice; so that it cannot be said of her, as it was of the Emperor Adrian, that *turba medicorum occidit regem*, for they say she died only for lack of physic. Here was some whispering that her brain was distempered, but there was no such matter, only she held an obstinate silence for the most part; and because she had a persuasion, that if she once lay down, she should never rise, she could not be gotten to bed in a whole fortnight, till three days before her death; so that after three weeks languishing, she departed the 24th of this present, being our Lady's eve, between two and three in the morning.

Le 3*me Avril* (N.S.).—Sur les trois heures du matin, la royne d'Angleterre rend l'esprit fort doucement, ayant comencé de perdre la parolle depuis deux jours, sans avoir enduré ny fiebvre ny aucune douleur pendant sa maladie, ny perdu le sens ny l'entendement. L'opinion comune des médecins de la royne, et de ceux qui la servoient privement en sa chambre, est, que sa maladie ne procède que d'une tristesse qu'elle conceut fort secrètement quelques jours devant que s'en plaindre. Et se fondent en ce jugement sur

[1] Although endorsed as from Sir Dudley Carleton, it appears not to be in his handwriting. It may have been written by a secretary. Carleton was at the time Ambassador at Paris.

ce qu'il n'est aparu aucun signe du mal qui fut mortel en elle outre celui de l'age, aiant le poux, urine, et les yeux toujours bons jusqu'à la fin. Et principalement qu'en tout le cours de sa maladie, elle n'a jamays voulu user d'aucune remède qu'on luy ait . . . . . non obstant les prières et menaces de mort que ses serviteurs et médecins luy faisoient; comme sy l'apprehension et mespris de sa vieillesse, out quelque autre repentement secret, que l'on attribue au regret de la mort du feu Comte d'Essex, l'eussent esmené à la chercher ou désirer elle même. Quoy que se soit, c'est là verité que des lors qu'elle sentit atteinte, elle dict en vouloir mourir.

This shows that even at the time, grief for the death of Essex was one of the causes to which her death was ascribed. The following extract from an intercepted letter, apparently from a popish priest, connects the Queen's last illness with Lady Nottingham's death-bed very curiously.

London, 9 *Martii*, 1603.—About ten days since died the Countess of Nottingham. The Queen loved the Countess very much, and hath seemed to take her death very heavily, remaining ever since in a deep melancholy, with conceit of her own death, and complaineth of many infirmities suddenly to have overtaken her, as impostumation in her head, aches in her bones, and continued cold in her legs, besides notable decay in judgment and memory, insomuch as she cannot attend to any discourses of government and state, but delighteth to hear some of the "Hundred Merry Tales," and such like, and to such is very attentive; at other times very impatient and testy, so as none of the Council, but the Secretary, dare come in her presence.[1]

[1] S. P. O. Venice.

Elizabeth died on the 24th March, 1603. Sir Robert Cary waited under the windows of the Palace at Richmond, until a token ring was thrown to him from the window, with which he posted off to Scotland, and was cordially received by King James, as the bearer of tidings of great joy. James was proclaimed in London the day that Elizabeth died, and the inhabitants that night lighted innumerable bonfires; we may presume, therefore, that grief for the loss of their late mistress, was confined to a few bosoms.

King James lost no time in proceeding to take possession of his land of promise; but even before he quitted Edinburgh, he bethought him of the friends and family of Essex.

The message he sent to Lady Essex has been already noticed; with the order for the release of Southampton, came an invitation to that nobleman to repair to York, to meet there his friend and sovereign. Great alarm was caused by this conduct; Ralegh, Cobham, and Grey, although doubtful of their reception, resolved to meet the King, and accompanied by the weak Northumberland, who had associated himself with them, repaired to York. The three former were left in neglect; Ralegh indeed lost his offices of Warden of the Stannaries and Captain of the Yeomen Guard, while the last, owing probably to his connection with Essex, received a promise of favour.

Two conspiracies, which in some degree owed their origin to the consciousness of this adverse feeling in

the royal breast, and the mysteries of which have never been clearly unravelled, were on foot at this time, and enabled the King to wreak his vengeance on the enemies of Essex. Lords Cobham, Grey, and Sir Walter Ralegh, headed the one, the object of which was said to be, the dethroning of King James, and setting up Arabella Stewart[1] in his place; to effect which they treated with the Count d'Aremberg, envoy from the Archduke, for 600,000 crowns, and Ralegh was said to have demanded a pension of 1500 crowns a-year. The other conspiracy, which was independent of this, and yet so far connected, that the same persons were privy to both, and "hoped that if one sped not, the other might," was headed by George Brook, Lord Cobham's brother, Sir Griffin Markham, Anthony Copley, and two priests, named Watson and Clarke. These conspirators proposed to seize the persons of the King and Prince, carry them to the Tower or to Dover, and keep them in custody until James had complied with their demands; the chief of which was, the satisfaction of personal vengeance against Cecyll and other ministers.

On the 16th July, a proclamation was issued to arrest Sir Griffin Markham. Anthony Copley confessed the existence of a plot to surprise the King.

[1] Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., married, first, James IV., King of Scotland, secondly Archibald, Earl of Angus. By the latter she left a daughter, wife of Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, and grandmother to James I. and Arabella Stewart; but the father of Arabella was younger brother to Lady Darnley. The advocates of her claim put forward her birth within the realm, as outweighing her defect in primogeniture.

Lord Cobham being examined, denied all knowledge of it, but refused to put his hand to anything. On the 30th, Cobham and Ralegh being then in the Tower, Sir John Peyton, the Lieutenant, makes a report of them. Ralegh still continues "perplexed," and "my L. Cobham's spirits are exceedingly de- "clined; he is grown passionate in lamentation."[1]

The plague was raging in London; the King fled from it, the judges followed the Court, and it was not until November that the conspirators were tried. Sir William Waad, reporting to Lord Cecyll that he had brought the prisoners to Winchester Castle, the 13th November, 1603, gives a proof of the excessive violence of the popular feeling against Ralegh. "I thank God we brought all our prisoners safely "hither yesternight in good time, and yet I protest "it was hob or nob whether Sir Walter Ralegh "should have been brought alive through such "multitudes of unruly people as did exclaim against "him. We took the best order we could in setting "watches through all the streets, both in London, "and for the suburbs: If one hair-brained fellow "among so great multitudes had begun to set upon "him (as they were very near to do it), no entreaty "or means could have prevailed, the fury of the "people was so great."[2]

Cobham, the "sycophant per excellentiam," justified the contempt which Essex had always expressed for

[1] S. P. O. [2] Ibid.

him. "Never," says Sir Dudley Carleton[1], "was "seen so poor and abject a spirit."

Grey made a long and eloquent speech, and bore himself so gallantly, as to win the esteem of his judges.[2] The chief evidence against Ralegh was the confession of Cobham, whom he had betrayed to Cecyll, and who, in return, betrayed him. Cobham afterwards retracted; and there was great difficulty in proving Ralegh's guilt without implicating d'Aremberg. The Attorney General, Sir Edward Coke, endeavoured to make up the defects in evidence by an amount of invective and vituperation, unusual even in that foul-mouthed advocate; but the fact of the pension was proved. All were condemned; but only the two priests and George Brook were executed. Sir Walter Ralegh remained in the Tower till August, 1616, when he was suffered to go on the voyage to Guiana, from which he promised the King such great results, and which proved a complete failure. On his return, he was confined to his house, and James, willing to conciliate Spain, determined to proceed against him on the old judgment of 1603; and on the 29th October, 1618, he was beheaded in Old Palace Yard, Westminster. In his speech from the scaffold, he did not hesitate to call God to witness that he was not a "persecutor of the death of the "Earl of Essex, but shed tears for him when he

[1] Who was in England at this time. His letter describing the trial, is in State Trials, vol. ii. p. 50.

[2] "Great compassion was had of this young lord; for so clear and fiery a spirit had not been seen by any that had been present at like trials."—Sir D. Carleton, ut supra.

"died." What belief is to be placed in this declaration, his own letter to Cecyll has shown. There can be no doubt he met death with a lie in his mouth.

After the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, in November, 1605, the Earl of Northumberland, on account of his connection with Thomas Percy, one of the conspirators, was confined first in the house of the Archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards in the Tower; he was brought before the Star Chamber the next year, and arraigned on these charges; that he had sought to be the head of the papists: that he had admitted Thomas Percy to be a gentleman pensioner, without administering the oath of supremacy: and that after his restraint he wrote letters without leave, giving warning to Percy to seek safety. He treated them with contempt, and desired a public trial by law. The proofs against him failed; nevertheless, the Star Chamber sentenced him to pay a fine of 30,000*l.*, to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, deprived him of all his offices, and declared him incapable of holding any in future. During a confinement in the Tower of thirteen years, he acquired the character of a Mecænas, from his devotion to literary and scientific pursuits, and the number of learned men he entertained. Imprisonment could not lower the pride of the Percy; for when Hay, Lord Doncaster—the King's favourite, who had married, against her father's consent, Lady Lucy Percy, the celebrated beauty, better known as Countess of Carlisle—obtained his liberation from James, in

1617, Northumberland was with difficulty induced to accept the favour at such hands.

Mountjoy had succeeded, during the autumn of 1602, in reducing Tyrone and O'Donnel, the heads of the Irish rebels, to so great distress, that they were anxious to submit on terms; but Elizabeth at first would listen to nothing less than an unconditional surrender, and subsequently was so undecided, that Mountjoy knew not what to do; until, at length, hearing that the Queen was dying, he sent at once for Tyrone, received his submission kneeling, and in return, published an act of oblivion of all past offences. Scarcely was this done, when the intelligence arrived that Elizabeth was no more; Tyrone burst into tears of regret that he had been so precipitate.

Mountjoy brought over with him the two Irish chiefs, who were pardoned, Tyrone being re-invested with his former title, and O'Donnel created Earl of Tyrconnel. Mountjoy himself was received by James with the utmost favour, not only as having been successful in Ireland, but as the friend of Essex, and his associate in the secret correspondence with Scotland. On the 21st July, 1603, he was created Earl of Devonshire, K. G., and Master General of the Ordnance. His favour was as great with the King, as that of Lady Rich was with the Queen. Shortly afterwards, by mutual consent, that lady was divorced from her husband, and on the 26th December, 1605, became the wife of the Earl of Devonshire; the ceremony was performed by Laud, afterwards Archbishop,

then the Earl's chaplain. This union roused the greatest anger in James, who declared such a marriage illegal and void.

Devonshire and his wife were disgraced and banished from Court. The case was argued; but before any decision was arrived at, the Earl fell ill of a fever, which carried him off, after ten days' illness, on the 3rd April, 1606. Sir Dudley Carleton, writing to Mr. J. Chamberlain, at Ware Park, on Good Friday, the 17th April, says: —

My L. of Devonshire's funeral will be performed in Westminster, about three weeks hence. There is much dispute among the heralds, whether his lady's arms shall be impaled with his, which brings in question the lawfulness of the marriage, and that is said to depend on the manner of the divorce; which, though it run in these terms, that she was to be separated from her late husband, *à thoro et mensa, propter varia et diversa adulteria, confessata et commissa ea in suburbis quam intra muros civitatis London*, yet are they tied in the conclusion not to marry any other. Her estate is much threatened with the King's account, but it is thought she will find good friends, for she is visited daily by the greatest, who profess much love to her for her Earl's sake; meantime, amongst the meaner sort, you may guess in what credit she is, when Mrs. Bluenson complains that she hath made her cousin of Devonshire shame her and the whole kindred.

2nd May. — My L. of Devonshire's funeral will be performed on Wednesday next, in which my Lord of Southampton is chief mourner, my L. of Suffolk and Northampton assistants, and three other Earls. It is determined that his arms shall be set up single, without his wife's.[1]

[1] S. P. O.

She survived him but a short time, and died in 1607. Their eldest son, Mountjoy Blount, was created Baron Mountjoy, 1627, and Earl of Newport, 1628.

Fynes Moryson has left so interesting an account of the person and habits of his master, that no apology is requisite for its insertion here.

" He was of stature tall, of comely proportion; his " skin fair; he had very little hair on his body, it " was nearly black, thin on the head, where he wore " it short, except a lock under the left ear, which he " nourished, and being woven up, hid it in his neck " under his ruff. He only used the barber for his " head; for the hair on his chin, cheeks, and throat, " growing slowly, he used to cut with his scissors " almost daily, keeping it so low that it could scarce " be discerned, keeping also the hair on his upper " lip somewhat short, suffering only that under his " nether lip to grow at length and full; yet some two " or three years before his death, he had a very sharp " and short *pike devant* on his chin. His forehead " was broad and high; his eyes, great, black, and " lovely; his nose, low and short, and something " blunt at the end; his chin, round; cheeks, full, " round, and ruddy; countenance, cheerful and " amiable as ever I beheld of any man. His arms " were long, his hands long and white, his fingers " great in the end, and his legs somewhat little, " which he gartered above the knee.

" His apparel in Court and city was commonly of " white or black taffetas or satins; he wore two, yea,

" sometimes three, pair of silk stockings, with black " silk grogram cloak, guarded, and ruffs of comely " depth and thickness; black beaver hat, with plain " black band; a taffety quilted waistcoat in summer; " a scarlet waistcoat, and sometimes both, in winter. " In the country, and in the field, he wore jerkins " and round hose; he never ware other fashion than " round, with laced panes of russet cloth, and cloak of " the same lined with velvet, and white beaver hat " with plain band; and besides his ordinary stockings " of silk, he wore under boots another pair of woollen " or worsted, with a pair of high linen boot hose. " Yea, three waistcoats in cold weather and a thick " ruff, besides a russet scarf about his neck thrice " folded under it; so as I never observed any of his " age and strength to keep his body so warm. He " was very comely in all his apparel, but the robes " of St. George's Order became him extraordinarily " well.

" For his diet he used to fare plentifully and of the " best, so as no lord in England might compare with " him in that kind of bounty. Before the war he " used to have nourishing breakfasts, as panadoes " and broths; but in the wars, he used commonly to " break his fast with a dry crust of bread, and, in " the spring time, with butter and sage, with a cup " of stale beer, wherewith, in winter, he would have " sugar and nutmeg mixed. He fed plentifully, both " at dinner and supper, having the choicest and " most nourishing meats, with the best wines, which " he drank plentifully, but never in great excess; in

" his latter years, and in the wars, he used to sleep " in the afternoons, and that long, upon his bed. He " took tobacco abundantly, and of the best. He was " very neat, loving cleanliness both in apparel and " diet; and was so modest, that his most familiar " never heard or saw him use any liberty out of his " privy chamber, except, perhaps, in his Irish journeys, " when he had no withdrawing room.

" His behaviour was courtly, grave, and exceeding " comely. He loved private retiredness, good fare, " and some few friends. He delighted in study, in " gardens, a house richly furnished, and delectable " rooms of retreat; in riding on a pad to take the " air; in playing at shovel-board or at cards; in " reading play-books for recreation; and especially " in fishing and fish-ponds; seldom using any other " exercises, and using these as pastimes only for a " short and convenient time, and with great variety " of change from one to the other.

" He was a close concealer of his secrets, sparing in " speech, but judicious, if not eloquent. He hated " swearing, which I have seen him often control at " his table with a frowning brow and an angry cast " of his black eye; slow to anger, but once provoked " spoke home; a gentle enemy, easily pardoning, and " calmly pursuing revenge; as a friend, if not cold, " yet not to be used much out of the highway. " Lastly, in his love to women, he was faithful and " constant, if not transported with self-love more " than the object, and therein obstinate."

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX.

CONTRAST BETWEEN ELIZABETH AND JAMES I.—ROBERT DEVEREUX, AT ETON AND OXFORD. — THE ATTAINDER OF ESSEX AND SOUTHAMPTON REVERSED. — QUARREL BETWEEN THE PRINCE OF WALES AND ESSEX. — MARRIAGE OF ESSEX AND LADY FRANCES HOWARD, AND FESTIVITIES AT COURT. — DISSOLUTE STATE OF THE COURT. — ESSEX GOES ABROAD. — HIS LETTERS FROM FRANCE. — HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE PRINCE OF WALES.

IT would be difficult to point out two characters which, with certain points of resemblance, offer a more complete contrast than do those of the late Queen and her successor. Elizabeth was fearless, firm, cautious, and parsimonious; James was timid, irresolute, credulous, and prodigal. Both were hasty and irritable, indulging in the coarsest abuse in their moments of anger; but Elizabeth was malignant and vengeful, while James was easily appeased, and would ask pardon of those he had wronged or abused in his anger. Both were learned. Few women of her age were better read than Elizabeth, who spoke five languages[1]; James prided himself on his kingcraft,

[1] "Elizabeth possessess much understanding and courage, and is adorned with many great qualities. She speaks French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin, knows something of the sciences and history, is thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of her kingdom, knows those of her neighbours

W. Hall, Sc.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX.

1591 — 1646.

From the Original of Walker, on the Collection of the Duke of Sutherland, at Trentham.

his theology, his knowledge of the science of demonology, while his undoubted acquirements were so overlaid with pedantry, as to earn for him, from Sully, the title of "the wisest fool in Europe." Both had favourites; but the spirit of the Tudors always preserved Elizabeth from the abject slavery in which James was bound to Somerset and Buckingham.

The morals of the Court of Elizabeth were not of the purest order, if we compare them with a modern standard; but in contrast with the profligate and degrading habits of the great lords and ladies under James, her courtiers were models of propriety. In the course of this narrative, enough will appear to warrant the assertion that, not even in the age of Charles II., were honour, virtue, and morality at so low an ebb, as during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

When James was proclaimed on Tower Hill, "at "that instant the Earl of Southampton, with his "keeper, did walk upon the leads in the Tower, "whence he perceived the proclamation to be made, "at which he did much rejoice, as great reason he "hath so to do, throwing his hat up two several times, "and the third time cast it over the wall from him, "that all upon the Tower Hill might behold it. At "the time of proclamation of the King in Cheap-"side, my Lord of Northumberland brought with

and judges well of them. She is passionate and violent among her attendants, and demands more than is due to her sex; she is more frugal than she ought to be, and instead of giving will have others give to her." —From a despatch of M. de Bouillon, 1596. Von Raumer, ii. 178.

" him, upon horseback, the Earl of Essex his son, " and instantly after the proclamation was done, he " was sent unto Essex House to his mother, for there " she doth lie at this time."[1]

Robert Devereux was, at this time, a gentleman commoner of Merton College, Oxford, whither he had removed from Eton at the end of January, 1602. Mr., afterwards Sir Henry Savile[2], was Warden of Merton, who, for his father's sake, undertook that the youth should be learnedly and religiously educated; the better to effect this, he gave him an apartment in the Warden's lodging.[3]

On the 5th April, James wrote a letter from Holyrood concerning the Earl of Southampton, which does not bear the address, but was probably to the Privy Council; in it he says, "We have thought " meet to give the Peers of the realm notice of our " pleasure, though the same be to be executed by " our own regal power; which is, only because the " place is unwholesome and dolorous to him, to " whose body and mind we would give present com- " fort. We have written to our Lieutenant of the " Tower to deliver him out of prison presently, to go

[1] From a letter from Thomas Ferrers to his brother Sir Henry Ferrers at Walton on Trent, in Lord Ashburnham's Collection, No. 355. Stowe Catalogue.

[2] Warden of Merton, 1585. He became Provost of Eton 1596, and died 1621. He was a man of severe morals, and the strictest religious principles, from whom probably Lord Essex imbibed the anti-episcopal opinions which distinguished him at a later period. Sir Henry Savile was also an eminent mathematician, and founder of the chairs of Astronomy and Geometry at Oxford.

[3] Ath. Oxon. iii. 189.

" to any such place as he shall choose, in or near our " city of London, there to carry himself in such " modest form as we know he will think meet in his " own discretion, until the body of our State now " assembled shall come unto us, at which time " we are pleased that he shall also come unto our " presence; for as it is on us that his only hope " dependeth, so we will reserve those words of " further favor until the time he behold our own " eyes, whereof as we know the comfort will be great " to him, so it will be contentment to us to have op- " portunity to declare our estimation of him."[1]

There was little cause to fear that the subject of such expressions from the new Sovereign would be treated with harshness or disrespect. But the House of Peers had not even waited thus long; for on the 26th March, only two days after the death of the Queen, bills reversing the attainders of the Earls of Southampton and Essex were read a first time, and came back from the Commons the 18th April. James must, therefore, have given instructions before he became King, or else his wishes were so well known to Cecyll that he ventured to forestal them thus; a remarkable circumstance whichever way it is viewed.

James I. arrived at Theobalds on the 7th, having, by his reception of Southampton at York, displayed his antipathy to the late Queen, quite as much as his regard for the memory of Essex.

On the 13th May, he made his entry into London,

[1] Ashburnham MSS. 692. Stowe Cat.

and shortly afterwards had a creation of Peers, when Lord Henry Howard became Earl of Northampton; Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk; Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire; and Sir Robert Cecyll, Baron Cecyll of Essendon.

Henry, Prince of Wales, was about two years younger than the Earl of Essex, who, in pursuance of his promise to Lady Essex, the King placed about the Prince as a sharer both in his studies and his amusements. "They became very conversant and "familiar, the Prince being near unto him in years, "but nearer in affection."[1] The Prince matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in August, 1605; but whether it was in the Tennis Court at Oxford, or elsewhere, that the quarrel occurred between him and Essex which is related by Mr. Codrington, we are not informed.

The Prince and Essex were playing tennis together, when, after a set or two, a dispute arose connected with the game. The Prince became so angry, that he called Essex "son of a traitor;" on which the latter hit the Prince on the head with his racket, "so shrewdly," that he drew blood. The quarrel came to the ears of the King, who examined into it, and finding what provocation the Prince had given, dismissed them with these words to his son: "that he who did strike him then, would be sure, "with more violent blows, to strike his enemy in "times to come."

[1] Life of Robert, Earl of Essex, by Robert Codrington, M. A., printed in Harl. Misc. vol. i. p. 212.

. . The recreations of Essex at Oxford, were "riding "the great horse, running at the ring, and the "exercise of arms. His other hours were occupied "in the perusal of books that afforded most profit, "not most delight."

In the autumn of 1605, King James was entertained by the University of Oxford, when the degree of M.A. was bestowed on the Earl of Essex, in company with many other noblemen[1] and knights.

On the 24th October, 1605, Mr. Chamberlain, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton at Paris, says: "The "Earl of Essex, and the young Lord Cranborne[2], "shall marry two of my Lord Chamberlain's[3] "daughters at Court very shortly: they only stay "for the King's coming, who is looked for in the "next week."

This match is said to have been made by King James, in his care for the children of the late Earl of Essex; but as, in the divorce case in 1613, he inveighed strongly against "the marrying of young "couples before they be acquainted one with another," that assertion may be considered doubtful. Others say that Salisbury, who desired to connect his son and Essex, was the contriver; but as Lord Cranborne's marriage did not take place till three years later, that could hardly be the case. By whomsoever proposed, nothing could be less happy than the result of this union.

[1] Ath. Oxon. iii. 189. gives the names.

[2] Cecyll was created Viscount Cranborne in 1604, and Earl of Salisbury the 4th May, 1605.

[3] Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, 1603.

It appears by the following letter, the earliest I have discovered of Essex's writing, that he and Lord Cranborne, who, as well as himself, had been brought up with the Prince, were somewhat more than mere playfellows at this time.

No. XL.[1]

Essex to Salisbury.

My most honorable good Lord,—I humbly beseech your Honor that you will be pleased to excuse my Lord of Cranborne's not coming to the Court, for the knowledge of your L. pleasure was brought unto him so late, as he could not with any ease or conveniency observe the same; but if your Honor will please to give us leave to keep company together until the next week, we will then be ready to do our service to his Highness, and I will ever acknowledge myself most bound unto your good Lordship, and will always rest your Honor's humbly to be commanded,

RO. ESSEX.

Chesterford, this 5th September, 1605.

On the 5th January, 1606, the Earl of Essex was married to Lady Frances Howard, and on that and the following nights there were great entertainments at Court in honour of the nuptials. Mr. Pory wrote an account of the fêtes to Sir Robert Cotton; he observes, "The bridegroom carried himself so gravely "and gracefully, as if he were of his father's age. He "had greater gifts given him than my Lord of "Montgomery[2] had, his plate being valued at 3000*l.*;

[1] S. P. O.

[2] Philip Herbert, who was created Earl of Montgomery, 4th May, 1605, married Lady Susan Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford.

"jewels, money, and other gifts, 1000*l.* more.[1] But "to return; both Inigo, Ben[2], and the actors, men "and women, did their parts with great commenda- "tion. The concert, or soul of the masque, was "Hymen bringing in a bride, and Juno Pronuba's "priest a bridegroom, proclaiming that these two "should be sacrificed to nuptial union. Before the "sacrifice could be performed, Ben Jonson turned "the globe of the earth, standing behind the altar, "and within the concave sat the eight men masquers, "representing the four humors and the four affec- "tions, who leapt forth to disturb the sacrifice to "union. But amidst their fury, Reason, that sat "above them all, crowned with burning tapers, "came down and silenced them. These eight, to- "gether with Reason, their moderatress, mounted "above their heads, sat somewhat like the ladies "in the scallop shell last year. About the globe "hovered a middle region of clouds, in the centre "whereof a grand concert of musicians, and on the "cantons, or horns, sat the ladies, four at one corner, "four at another, who descended upon the stage. "These eight, after the sacrifice was ended, repre- "sented the eight nuptial powers of Juno Pronuba, "who came down to confirm the union. The men "were clad in crimson, the women in white; they "had every one a white plume of the richest heron's "feathers, and were so rich in jewels as was most

[1] The King's gift consisted of 506¾ oz. of gilt plate of sundry kinds.

[2] Ben Jonson was the author of the masque, Inigo Jones the machinist.

" glorious. I think they hired and borrowed all the " jewels and ropes of pearls in both Court and City. " The Spanish ambassador seemed but poor to the " meanest of them. They danced all the variety of " dances, both severally and *promiscue;* and then the " women and men, as namely the Prince, who danced " with as great perfection and as settled a majesty " as could be devised, the Spanish ambassador, the " Archduke's ambassador, the Duke," &c.[1]

The Lords who figured in the masque were Lord Willoughby[2], Lord Walden[3], Sir James Hay[4], Earl of Montgomery[5], Sir Thomas Howard[6], Sir Thomas Somerset[7], Earl of Arundel[8], Sir John Ashley.

Their dress was taken from the antique Greek statues, with some modern additions, which made it "both graceful and strange." They wore Persic crowns, with scrolls of gold plate turned outwards, and wreathed with carnation and silver net lawn. Their bodies were in carnation cloth of silver, "cut " to express the naked in manner of the Greek " thorax," with broad belts of cloth of gold embroidered and fastened with jewels; mantles of several coloured silks, as they were coupled in pairs: first, sky colour; second, pearl colour; third, flame

[1] Nichol's Progresses of James I., ii. 33.

[2] Robert, tenth Lord Willoughby of Eresby, afterwards Earl of Lindsey, killed at Edgehill, 23rd October, 1642.

[3] Eldest son of the Earl of Suffolk.

[4] Afterwards Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Doncaster.

[5] Philip, brother of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke.

[6] Second son of the Earl of Suffolk.

[7] Third son of Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester.

[8] Son of that Earl who died in the Tower in 1595.

colour; fourth, tawny. They were fastened on the right shoulder, and "fell compass down the back in "gracious folds." Their legs were encased in silver greaves.

The ladies, who were arranged according to their height, were, the Countess of Montgomery, Lady Knollys, Mrs. A. Sackville, Lady Berkeley, Lady Dorothy Hastings, Lady Blanche Somerset, Countess of Bedford, Countess of Rutland. Their attire was "wholly new for the invention, and full of glory." The upper part, white cloth of silver, wrought with Juno's birds and fruits; a loose under garment, full gathered, of carnation, striped with silver, and parted with a golden zone. Beneath that, another flowing garment of watchet cloth of silver, laced with gold, "through "all which, though they were round and swelling, "there yet appeared some touch of their delicate "lineaments, preserving the sweetness of proportion, "and expressing itself beyond expression." Their hair was carelessly bound under the circle of a rare and rich coronet, adorned with choice jewels, from the top of which flowed a transparent veil down to the ground, whose verge, returning up, was fastened to either side "in most sprightly manner." Shoes of azure and gold, set with rubies, completed their costume, every part of which abounded in ornament.

The next night being Monday, out of a mist made of delicate perfumes, two females appeared, representing Truth and Opinion. After a dialogue between them, their supporters appeared, sixteen knights on each side, one side led by the Duke of Lennox, the

other by the Earl of Sussex, who "addressed themselves to fight," but were, after a time, interrupted by an angel, who made a speech, and, reconciling the rival ladies, they retired hand in hand.

As Lord Essex was but fifteen years of age at the time of his marriage, and the bride a year or two younger, it was arranged that he should pass the interval until his arrival at man's estate in foreign travel. This, reasonable as it appears, was probably in some degree the origin of their future misfortunes; for had Essex been constantly in the society of his young wife, she might have bestowed on him that ardent affection, which, given to another whom to love was a crime, and unchecked, ungoverned by any principle, hurried her into an abyss which is fearful to contemplate. Not only was she separated from her husband, but she remained in the worst school, under the worst guide that could have been selected, —at Court, under the care of her mother, Lady Suffolk. That lady, herself a beauty, avaricious, and unprincipled, was more than suspected of having bartered her favours for gold.[1] One of her occupations was the endeavour to find a young Englishman

[1] Lady Suffolk as well as her husband received bribes for political services. "The Constable of Castile procured a peace so advantageous for Spain and disadvantageous for England; there was not one courtier of note that tasted not of Spain's bounty, nor any in so large a proportion as the Countess of Suffolk: in truth, Audley End, that famous and great structure, may be said to have its foundations of Spanish gold."—*Secret History of the Court of James I.*, vol. i. p. 338. Audley End was built by the Earl of Suffolk. In 1618, Lord S. was tried in the Star Chamber for peculation in his office of Lord Treasurer, and condemned to imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 30,000*l.*

to occupy the post of favourite, the courtiers being extremely jealous of the favours lavished by James on the Scotch. For this purpose she sought out handsome youths, dressed them up, curled their hair, and perfumed their breaths[1], and placed them in the way of the King, in the hope they would attract his notice. Henry Rich[2], afterwards Earl of Holland, was one of the youths on whose "curious face and "complexion" James cast his eye with favour, but who, little as his character deserves esteem, is at least to be respected in this, that he scorned to accept so degrading a post. The manner in which he showed his repugnance to subscribe to the conditions necessary for the royal favourite, was sufficiently marked. One day, after King James had lolled upon his neck, and slabbered his face, Henry Rich, who could not restrain his disgust, turned aside from the King, and spat upon the ground.

Neither the example nor precepts of Lady Suffolk, were therefore likely to keep Lady Essex in the straight road. To show the reader what kind of lessons were to be learnt at Court, I cannot do better than transcribe part of a letter from Sir John Harrington, "the witty godson" of Queen Elizabeth, to Secretary Barlow, describing the entertainment of Christian IV., King of Denmark, who visited London in July, 1606: "The ladies abandon their sobriety,

[1] Secret History of the Court of James I., vol. i. pp. 375, 376. All those plans were upset by the accident of Carr breaking his leg.

[2] Henry Rich was second son of Lord Rich and Penelope Devereux, and godson to Henry IV. of France.

" and roll about in intoxication. One day a great
" feast was held, and, after dinner, the representation
" of Solomon his temple, and the coming of the
" Queen of Sheba was made, or, as I may better say,
" was meant to have been made, before their Majesties,
" by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others.
" But alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor
" mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our present-
" ment hereof. The lady who did play the Queen's
" part, did carry most precious gifts to both their
" Majesties; but, forgetting the steps arising to the
" canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish Majesty's
" lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it
" was in his face. Much was the hurry and confu-
" sion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all
" clean. His Majesty then got up, and would dance
" with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down and
" humbled himself before her, and was carried to an
" inner chamber, and laid on a bed of state, which
" was not a little defiled with the presents of the
" Queen bestowed on his garments, such as wine,
" cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good
" matters. The entertainment and show went
" forward, and most of the presenters went back-
" ward or fell down, wine did so occupy their upper
" chambers. Now did appear in rich dress, Hope,
" Faith, and Charity. Hope did essay to speak, but
" wine rendered her endeavour so feeble, that she
" withdrew, and hoped the King would excuse her
" brevity. Faith was then all alone, for I am certain
" that she was not joined with good works, and left

" the Court in a staggering condition. Charity came
" to the King's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude
" of sins her sisters had committed; in some sort she
" made obeisance, and brought gifts, but said she
" would return home again, as there was no gift
" which heaven had not already given His Majesty.
" She then returned to Hope and Faith, who were
" both sick in the lower hall. Next came Victory, in
" bright armour, and presented a rich sword to the
" King, who did not accept it, but put it by with his
" hand, and by a strange medley of versification
" did endeavour to make suit to the King. But
" Victory did not triumph long; for after much
" lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly
" captive, and laid to sleep on the outer steps of the
" antechamber. Now did Peace make entry, and
" strive to get foremost to the King; but I grieve to
" tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of
" her attendants, and much contrary to her semblance,
" most rudely made war with her olive branch, and
" laid on the pates of those who did oppose her
" coming. We are going on hereabouts as if the
" devil was contriving every man should blow himself
" up by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and
" temperance. The great ladies do go well masked,
" and indeed it be the only show of their modesty to
" conceal their countenance. But, alack! they meet
" with such countenance to uphold their strange
" doings, that I marvel not at aught that happens.
" I do say — but not aloud — that the *Danes have*
" again conquered the Britons; for I see no man, or

" woman either, that can command himself or herself. " I wish I was at home. *O rus, quando te aspiciam!*"[1]

Lord Essex did not go abroad until the spring of 1608; but there is no mention of his presence at any Court festivities between his marriage and his departure, excepting on one occasion that the King and Prince of Wales were entertained at Merchant Tailors' Hall, when the latter, and by his desire the Lords " present who loved him and were not free of other " companies," were made members of that society: among the number was the Earl of Essex.

The first place that he visited was Paris. We learn from the letters which follow, that he was most graciously received and entertained by Henry IV., who had always felt great regard and esteem for his father. From that time until his return to England, after an absence of between three and four years, very little is known of his movements; a few letters to the Prince of Wales, and to Mr. Newton, their common tutor, are all written from France. Arthur Wilson says he also travelled in Germany; and it is very probable he might have visited his own country during that period, but no record exists of either.

No. XLI.[2]

Lord Carew to the Prince of Wales.

May it please your Highness,—The opportunity of this bearer yieldeth me two causes of writing. The first, to pre-

[1] Nug. Ant. i. 348.

[2] Harl. MSS. 7007. 216. Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance under Elizabeth, was created, 3 James I., Lord Carew of Clopton, and in 1 Charles I., Earl of Totness; ob. S. P. M. 1629.

sent mine own humble duty, having as yet none other means of professing my readiness and desire to shew my devoted affection toward your service, which should more effectually appear, if I might have the honor and happiness of receiving your gracious commandments in any thing that my weak means were able to accomplish; the other, to witness unto your Highness, that by the King your uncle's commandment, and mine advice, this gentleman, Monsieur de St. Antoine [1], hath made some longer stay in these parts, than his desire to have been attendant on your person, in his place of service, could otherwise have permitted. To the end he might accompany my Lord of Essex to Fontainebleau, whither the King invited his Lordship to come unto him, to use him with respect and kindness, in leading him on hunting with him, and making other demonstrations of favor towards him. And because none of my Lord's own attendants were acquainted with the manner and customs of this Court, therefore recourse was had to Mons. de St. Antoine's experience and judgment in that behalf. Where he hath both much steaded his Lordship; and besides been a hearer of that high and honorable opinion, which is generally held in these parts, of your noble towardliness, or rather accomplished virtues and parts of worthiness. For the continuance and prospering of the which, in long life and honor, praying to the Almighty, I humbly leave your Highness to His most holy protection; resting your Highness' most humbly devoted in all loyalty,

Paris, 1st April, 1608. G. CAREW.

No. XLII.[2]

Essex to the Prince of Wales.

Most gracious Prince,—I do in these few lines present my humblest duties unto your Highness. Being now entered

[1] The Prince's riding master.

[2] Harl. MSS. 7007. 440. This letter is endorsed "My lo. of Essex, No. 2."

into my travels, and intending the end thereof to attain to true knowledge and to better my experience, I hope God will so bless me in my endeavours, as that I shall return an acceptable servant unto your Highness. My heart, noble Prince, stands humbly and truly affected, and the world can yield me no such comfort as to be numbered among those that do indeed honor and reverence you with their entirest thoughts. I will every day pray upon the knees of my humblest heart, that God will bless your Highness with many and most happy days. Your Highness' humblest servant,

Montreuil, this 24th of May. RO. ESSEX.

No. XLIII.[1]

Essex to Mr. Newton.

Good Mr. Newton,—The hope I have of your kindness, makes me the more unwillingly to trouble you with my commendations, of which, if it will please you to accept, as they are truly meant, with a loving affection, I shall be very glad; entreating your good opinion, I entreat further assurance of your love, that you will be daily a means for me to the Prince, my most noble master, that his Highness will please to remit all past errors, and remember me, though in a remote place, as one of his servants that will ever honor him with an humble heart, and to my uttermost seek to deserve well with the honestest and carefullest service I can perform. I would willingly have written to his Highness now; but to presume too often may be interpreted a fault of much boldness. I will pray humbly and heartily for his Highness many happy and blessed days; and I will ever, if in this you will be my friend, love you with the love of an honest man. I pray you that you will remember me to good

[1] Lansd. MSS. 68. 22.

Mistress Newton; and so committing you to God's good protection, I rest your very loving friend,

Blois, this 5th Sept. RO. ESSEX.

No. XLIV.[1]

Essex to Mr. Newton.

Good Mr. Newton,—I have received your letter, full of such comfort, as I shall think myself very unhappy if I do not in some part grow worthy thereof. For your own kind offer, I do acknowledge myself very much obliged to you. I shall firmly rely upon your kindness, whenever I shall have occasion to implore his Highness' goodness to me, and your good furtherance therein: in the mean time, I do hold it a great blessing to be continued in his honorable good opinion; to effect which my own means is small or none, your good offices will be of power, and available in this. I pray you shew your love to me, and as I will ever be an honest faithful servant to my worthy master, so will I be a loving, faithful man to you, and will be very proud if you will hold me in the number of your assured loving friends.

Blois, this 15th October. RO. ESSEX.

The above are all that remain of Essex's letters from abroad; his last correspondence with the Prince may be placed here, before I proceed to narrate the scandalous transactions, which ended in the annulling, by an extra-judicial process, of the marriage of Lord and Lady Essex.

[1] Lansd. MSS. 68. 21.

No XLV.[1]

Essex to the Prince of Wales.

Most mighty Prince,—Let it out of your great goodness be pardoned, if, in forwardness of my zeal, I took boldness to present my humble duty to your Highness' most gracious acceptance. In the poorness of my fortune, I am not able to give better testimony of my true affected heart to your service; which, were it so good as it would give means, no creature should be more careful and forward to do your Highness honor, than myself: as it is, that, with my life, shall be freely expended, to continue your princely good opinion of me. In hope of this, your royal nobleness, none shall more truly pray for the increase and continuance of your Highness' great happiness, or stand more heartily devoted to perform all hearty obedience, than your Highness' poorest servant,

RO. ESSEX.

No. XLVI.[2]

The Prince to Essex.

My respect hath always been such unto you, that I was well content to see the late remembrance of your affection unto me by your letter; and would be no less glad to see you at some times, if your occasions did afford you the means, according to your desire. But whatsoever be wanting in that kind, I am well persuaded will be supplied by the continuance of your hearty affection, which shall ever be regarded by me with that kindness which can be expected from your very good friend,

HENRY.

[1] Harl. MSS. 7008. 105.; not dated, but endorsed "My lo. of Essex, 1612."

[2] Harl. MSS. 7008. 105.

No. XLVII.[1]

Essex to the Prince of Wales.

My most gracious Prince,—It is my truest contentment to receive so noble a testimony of your Highness' favor, as it hath pleased you to grace me with in Mr. Newton's letter; I will thereby give myself assurance of your princely goodness, whensoever I shall be emboldened humbly to implore the virtue thereof. And, my most princely master, I can but vow in the uprightness of my innocent heart, that whensoever your Highness shall lend your princely hand to the raising of my poor fortune, it shall be to enable a servant that will always be ready to do you his best and faithfullest services to the last mite of his estate, to the last breath of his life.

Thus much all your Highness' servants will be ready to offer; thus much I will be ever ready to perform.

So most humbly praying your gracious pardon, I presume to kiss your princely hands, and will ever pray to God for the long, happy, and prosperous continuance of your blessed life. Your Highness' most humble and most faithful servant,

RO. ESSEX.

[1] Harl. MSS. 7008. 104.; not dated, but endorsed "Lord Essex, No. 5."

CHAPTER VIII.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

RISE OF CARR TO BE FAVOURITE.— LADY ESSEX BECOMES ATTACHED TO HIM. — SHE REFUSES TO LIVE WITH HER HUSBAND. — HER LETTERS TO MRS. TURNER AND DR. FORMAN, FROM CHARTLEY. — THE CONNECTION OF LADY ESSEX AND ROCHESTER BECOMES NOTORIOUS. — A COMMISSION APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE PETITION OF LADY ESSEX FOR DISSOLUTION OF THE MARRIAGE. — ITS PROCEEDINGS. — ESSEX CHALLENGES MR. HENRY HOWARD.

In the autumn of the year 1607, there appeared at Court, in the suite of Lord Hay[1], a youth of "comely "visage and proportionable personage, mixed with a "courtly presence," named Robert Carr. Lord Hay, having a part to perform in a tilting match, sent his device to the King, according to the custom of those pastimes, by Carr, who acted as his esquire. In dismounting from his horse to perform this duty, the animal started, threw him to the ground, and his leg was broken by the fall. This accident happening to one whose good looks he had already noticed, called forth all the sympathies of King James, who directed that he should be carried into the palace,

[1] Son of Sir James Hay, of Kingask, created by King James successively Lord Sawlie, Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle. His second wife was Lady Lucy Percy, whose beauty was celebrated by Waller and other poets. His expenditure was so enormous, that of 400,000*l.* of gifts received from the King, he left at his death neither a house nor an acre of land.

and there tended. His Majesty was also pleased to visit the interesting patient every day; the result of which was, that in the month of December, the chrysalis, casting off the grubby form of a page, which till then he had borne, burst forth in all the butterfly glory of a royal favourite. He was sworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and knighted. No suit, petition, letter, or grant, from this time, either reached or departed from the royal hand, except through the favourite; by which means, and the lavish gifts of his master, he had become so enriched in a short time, that on the 9th April, 1611, he was elevated to the peerage as Viscount Rochester.

At this period Lady Essex was just entering her eighteenth year. She had, says Arthur Wilson, "a "most sweet and bewitching countenance, hiding a "wicked heart." Sir Symons d'Ewes[1] positively asserts, that, set on by her great-uncle Northampton, she captivated the Prince of Wales, who first enjoyed her. Sir Charles Cornwallis[2] opposes this notion very strongly; while Arthur Wilson says, that the Prince threw many admiring glances towards her, until observing that she was captivated by Rochester, he soon slighted her. There is an anecdote related, that on one occasion, when she dropped her glove, a courtier picked it up and brought it to the Prince, thinking he was performing an accept-

[1] Life written by himself. Harl. MSS. 646. 27.

[2] Second son of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, of Brome Hall, Suffolk. He was some time ambassador in Spain, and was treasurer of the Prince's household.

able service. The Prince, however, rejected it, saying, he would have no glove that was stretched by another.

I incline to the belief that the Prince of Wales, if he ever became an admirer of Lady Essex, was a rejected suitor; and that in the absence of her Lord, forgetting, or possibly indifferent to her duty, she gave her whole heart to Rochester. The exceeding inconsistency of the various writers of this period as to dates and intervals of time, renders it difficult to ascertain, with any approach to exactness, when Lord Essex returned to England to assume his marital rights. I believe it to have been in the summer or autumn of 1611. There is no proof of any criminality between Lady Essex and Rochester up to that time; but probably they were then attached to each other, and the return of her husband hastened a declaration of their mutual feelings. It did more, it brought to maturity all the evil passions of her nature. Nevertheless, she dissembled so well, that Essex ascribed to her "maiden bashfulness" all the coldness she evinced in return for his ardent love, and bore it for a time with the utmost patience and good humour. He was at length, however, forced to call upon Lord Suffolk to use his influence with his daughter. At this crisis, Essex was unluckily attacked by the small-pox; and we may reasonably presume, that the aversion felt towards him by his wife, was not lessened by the disfiguring marks left by the disease. "Yet he," says Arthur Wilson,

"loved her with an extraordinary affection, having "a gentle, mild, and courteous disposition, espe- "cially to women, as might win upon the roughest "natures." [1]

Lord Suffolk again interposed, and insisted that Lady Essex should accompany her husband to Chartley. She was compelled to obey; but, determined not to be defeated, she had recourse to a certain Mrs. Turner, the widow of a doctor of medicine, whose prodigal and profligate life had brought her to want.[2] Lady Essex had two objects to attain; the one was to prevent the access of her husband, the other to maintain the constancy of Rochester. By the advice of Mrs. Turner, one Forman, a reputed conjuror and a quack doctor, was called in, who promised, by his art, to afford Lady Essex the assistance she desired. He made little figures of brass and of wax, resembling Lord Rochester, and the Countess, and the Earl of Essex; the former to be strengthened and united, the latter weakened and melted away. But he did not trust entirely to the black art; he supplied philtres and potions to be administered to the two noblemen, which were to work upon them physically, and it is quite possible with rather more effect than the symbols of brass and wax.

On arriving at Chartley, Lady Essex shut herself

[1] Life and Reign of James I., 1719, p. 686.

[2] Mrs. Turner was celebrated as the inventor of yellow starch for ruffs, which became very fashionable.

up in her apartments, entirely separating herself from her husband, whom, when she was compelled to see him, she received with reproaches and murmurs, calling him "cow, beast, and coward,"—terse, if not elegant, language from a beauty in her teens; all which he bore patiently for a long time, hoping thus to win her affections.

The endeavours of her husband to please her, the influence of her father, mother, brother, were alike exerted in vain. Her passion for Rochester was as a hurricane, sweeping before it every vestige of decency and propriety, and was only strengthened by opposition; no crime now appeared too great, if it was to procure her the power of gratifying her lawless love.

A letter to Mrs. Turner, found in that person's desk, notwithstanding the injunction of the writer to burn it, shows how recklessly she placed herself in the power of these infamous instruments, in her eagerness to effect her purpose. It is a letter which could not be omitted from this narrative, containing as it does, under her own hand, evidence of the gross perjury of which she was guilty in the subsequent process for annulling her marriage. It was written from Chartley, and with another of the same period to Dr. Forman, will place the reader behind the scenes, when he comes to the proceedings of the divorce commission.

No. XLVIII.[1]

Lady Essex to Mrs. Turner.

[Burn this.]

Sweet Turner,—I am out of all hope of any good in this world, for my father, my mother, and my brother said I should lie with him. My brother Howard was here, and said he would not come from this place all this winter, so that all comfort is gone; and, which is worst of all, my Lord hath complained that he hath not lain with me, and that I would not suffer him to use me as his wife. My father and mother are angry, but I would rather die at a hundred times over, for besides the suffering, I should lose *his* love if I lie with him; I will never desire to see *his* face any more, if my Lord do that thing to me. My Lord is very well as ever he was, and very merry, so as you may see in what a miserable case I am. You must send the party word of all: he sent me word all should be well; but I shall never be so happy as the *Lord* to love me. As you have taken pains all this time for me, so now do all you can, for never so unhappy as now, for I am not able to endure all the miseries that are coming on me. But I cannot be helped so long as this man liveth; therefore pray for me, for I have need of it: but I should be better if I had your company to ease my mind. Let him know this ill news. If you can get this done, you shall have as much as you can demand; this is fair play. Your loving sister,

FRANCES ESSEX.

Notwithstanding the great crimes into which the passions of Lady Essex hurried her, and the horror one must feel at the deliberate planning of the death

[1] Cobbett's State Trials, ii. 930.

of her husband which is shown in the latter part of this letter, one cannot but feel some sympathy for her situation. Married, when a child, to one who, being sent abroad, remained a stranger to her, she became attached, during his absence, to another, and now resisted courageously all the efforts and authority of her parents, brother, and husband, to make her unfaithful to the man she loved. Had she rested here, her unhappy situation would have called for our compassion.

Lady Suffolk was not likely to have instilled into her daughter those principles by which alone the evil passions of her nature might have been governed. No wonder then, that under their influence, backed by such advisers as Turner and Forman, she sank to the lowest depth of crime and degradation.

No. XLIX.[1]

Lady Essex to Dr. Forman.

Sweet Father,—I must still crave your love, although I hope I have it, and shall deserve it better hereafter. Remember the *galls!* for I fear, though I have yet no cause but to be confident in you, yet I desire to have it remain as it is. You will see it continue still if it be possible, and, if you can, you must send me some good news; alas! I have need of it. Keep *the Lord* still to me, for that I desire. Be careful you name me not to any body, for we have so many spies, that you must use all your wits, and all little enough; for the world is against me, and the heavens favor me not. I hope you will do me good, and if I be ungrateful, let all mischief

[1] State Trials, ii. 932.

come unto me. My Lord is lusty and merry, and drinks with his men, and all the content he gives me is to use me as doggedly as ever before; I think I shall never be happy in this world, because he hinders my good, and ever will, I think; so remember, I beg, for God's sake, get me free from this place. Your affectionate daughter,

FRANCES ESSEX.

P.S.—Give Turner warning of all things, but not *the Lord;* I would not have anything come out, for fear of my Lord Treasurer, for so he may tell my father and mother, and fill their ears full of toys.

It appears by this postscript that Lady Essex dreaded the interference of Lord Salisbury, should he become acquainted with her practices. He seems, indeed, to have been a check upon all parties, from the King downwards. He died on the 24th May, 1612; and almost immediately afterwards, the connection between Lady Essex and Rochester became notorious. The Earl of Northampton, disgracing his rank, his learning, and his grey hairs, to gain the favour of the favourite, became pander to the dishonour of his niece, and arranged meetings for the lovers at his own house. Essex, having discovered that her aversion to himself was caused by her passion for Rochester, had ceased to attempt any exercise of authority over her. The stolen pleasures of the guilty pair were uninterrupted, but they were stolen, and that slight restraint became very soon too grievous to be borne.

Northampton was again employed, and used his influence with James, who was also anxious to gratify his favourite, to such purpose that the King consented

to further a dissolution of the marriage. Lord Essex was willing to aid in all ways that did not reflect dishonour on himself; and at length a sort of committee of the friends of both parties, being the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain[1], the Earl of Southampton, and Lord Knollys, was assembled to consider how the proceedings for the separation should be carried on. The state of the law at that time made it a matter of great difficulty, and the affair of Devonshire and Lady Rich, in 1606, had created a very strong feeling, which was not yet forgotten; but it was at length arranged that Lady Essex should present a petition praying for a dissolution on the ground of impotence in her husband.

This does not appear to be a mode of proceeding that could much gratify the Earl of Essex, but was probably the only course which could be adopted under the circumstances; and no doubt the King, who prided himself greatly on his knowledge of divinity and ecclesiastical law, had many a doubt to be resolved, and argument to be answered, before he approved of any plan.

He at length consented to appoint a Commission under the Great Seal to inquire into, and resolve the question, whether the complaint set forth by the Countess of Essex in her petition were well founded.

On or about the 12th May, 1613, the Archbishop of Canterbury[2] was requested by the King to sit on

[1] The Earls of Northampton and Suffolk.

[2] George Abbot, whose narrative, written and signed by himself (Harl. MSS. 6854. 261.), contains a full and very curious account of the proceedings. It is printed in State Trials.

the Commission. After an interview with Essex, who "was very reserved, but declared his ability, and "that he would lay no blemish on himself," and with the condition that other Bishops should be joined with him, his Grace consented, and a Commission was appointed, composed of the following ten persons: George, Archbishop of Canterbury; John, Bishop of London; Lancelot, Bishop of Ely; Richard, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; Sir Julius Cæsar, LL.D., Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Thomas Parry, LL.D., Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Sir Daniel Dun, LL.D.; Sir John Benett, LL.D.; Doctors Francis James, and Thomas Edwards. Some of the Commissioners, says the Archbishop, were "very averse to the business, "especially Sir Thomas Parry; but after the L. "Chamberlain had some private conversation with "him one day at Windsor, he was quite altered."

It is not possible to go into the details of the case; the depositions and examinations may be found at length in the State Trials. Lord Essex appears throughout the whole of the proceedings to have treated the lady with far more tenderness and delicacy than she showed towards him, or in any way deserved.

The Archbishop says, that when the Earl was examined, "he used no ill speech of his Lady, for "which we all much commended him." He said, "When I came out of France I loved her; I cannot "so now, neither ever shall I." When he was examined as to the article that she was *virgo incor-*

rupta, "he smiled and said, she saith so, and she is "so for me." Sir Daniel Dun, catching at this, desired the registrar to set down as the answer, "*credit articulum esse verum.*" "This," adds his Grace, "gave me no great encouragement." It was resolved that Lady Essex should be examined by a jury of matrons. The Archbishop says, "The inspectrices "who were chosen came most unwillingly, and how-"soever Sir Jul. Cæsar and Sir Daniel Dun, whom "we never suspected to be as parties in the cause, "as afterwards they appeared to be, made all clear "and fair weather, yet my Lord of London told us "openly, that he, being with them, found that the "ladies knew not well what to make of it; that they "had no skill, nor knew not what was the truth, but "what they said was upon the credit of the midwives, "which were but two, and I know not how tampered "with. Lady Knevet declared her sorrow at being "used in such a business, and wept all the day about "it."

Mr. Chamberlain says[1]:—

The divorcement 'twixt the Earl of Essex and his Lady is on foot, and I think will come shortly to a conclusion. It hath been heard at Lambeth before certain Commissioners, twice or thrice, but *à huis clos;* all the difficulty is, that though he be willing to confess his insufficiency towards her, yet he will be left at liberty to marry any other, and stands upon it that he is *malefactus* only *ad illam.* Now some lawyers are of opinion, that if she will swear that he is impotent towards her, there is sufficient cause of divorce, which

[1] In a letter to Sir D. Carleton, 10th June, 1613, in S. P. O.

it is thought she will make no bones of, being, as she presumes, provided of a second; which I should never have suspected, but that I know he (Rochester) was with her three hours together within these two days, which makes me somewhat to stagger, and to think that great folks will have their ends, without respect of friends or followers. In the mean time, the lady hath been visited by some ancient ladies and midwives expert in these matters, who find her, upon their oaths, a pure virgin; which some doctors think a strange asseveration, and make it more difficult than to be discovered.

It was currently reported and believed, that Lady Essex, having obtained permission to appear veiled before these "ancient ladies," procured a substitute who might justify their verdict.

Mr. Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 8th July:—

The divorce goes not so fast forward as was expected. The lady, for her part, hath performed all that belonged to her, and endured all trials; but he is gone into the country with protestation to stand and to abide what the Commissioners shall award. But that will not serve the turn, for there be certain proceedings wherein his presence is necessarily required; so that it is thought the matter will be protracted to see if it will fall of itself: for the case is so difficult, and of so dangerous and scandalous consequence, that there is no hope that any sentence will give satisfaction.[1]

Southampton, writing to Sir R. Winwood on the 6th August, from some place not named, where he awaits the first fair wind for England, says:—

Of the nullity, I see you have heard as much as I can write, by which you may discern the power of a king with

[1] S. P. O.

judges; for of those who are now for it, I knew some of them, when I was in England, were vehemently against it, as the Bishops of Ely and Coventry. For the business itself, I protest I shall be glad, if it may lawfully, that it may go forward, though of late I have been fearful of the consequence, and have had my fears increased by the last letters which came to me: but, howsoever, the manner of interposing gives me no cause of contentment.[1]

On the 9th September, Mr. Chamberlain again wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton on this matter:—

That which most men listen after, is, what will fall out betwixt the Earl of Essex and Mr. Henry Howard[2], who is challenged and called to account by the Earl for certain disgraceful speeches of him. They are both gotten over, the Earl from Milford Haven, the other from Harwich, with each of them two seconds. The Earl hath his base brother, and one Captain Ouseley, or rather, as most men affirm, Sir Thos. Beaumont, as one interested in the quarrel; Mr. Howard hath one Mr. Ball, and Huntington Colbie, esteemed a very valiant gentleman. The last news of them was, that the Earl was at Calais, the other in Zealand. The King hath sent a post to Calais to the Governor to stay them, and young Gib of the bedchamber is sent with commandment from the King to them both, if he come in time.

On hearing of the intended duel, the King immediately interfered to prevent its taking place, not only by his own messengers, but through the Archduke's ambassador, who sent circular letters to the Governors of the towns in the Netherlands, desiring that Essex and Howard should be arrested. This letter is in-

[1] Winwood's Mem. iii. 475.

[2] Henry Howard was third son of the Earl of Suffolk.

teresting, as it gives a description of Essex's person. Another paper is appended, signed by the Earl's seconds, from which it appears, that the King had interposed to effect a reconciliation between the principals; that a paper was drawn up, read in the presence of Sir Horatio Vere and Sir John Wentworth, and signed by the seconds; that subsequently the seconds of Mr. Howard put forth a paper professing to be that one, but containing a different version of the story, of course unfavourable to Essex, who, thereupon, disowning the act of his seconds, they wrote this paper, declaring the statement of the other party to be "merely false."

No. L.[1]

The Ambassador of the Archduke to ———.

Monsieur le Conte d'Essex, et le Sr. Henry Howard, fils de Mons. le Conte de Suffolk, Grand Chamberlan du roy de la Grande Bretagne, se sont desfier, et assigner jour au pays de leur Altesses, pour mettre à effet leur combat; et parceque ce sont deux personages des plus qualifiés de cette couronne qui ont les dépendences ——— il nous en ay bien voulu donner l'avertance, et prier de vouloir faire le rapport à son Altesse, affinque promptement soit donné ordre qu'ils soient arrêtés prisonniers, et tenu avecq garde selon leur qualités pour éviter le mal qui en pourroit résulter, qui est de grande considération.

Le Conte d'Essex est de moyenne stature: un peu maigre: cheveulx noirs: sans barbe: la face un peu gastée de petites verroles: age, de vingt trois ans; estant accompagné de deux aultres.

[1] S. P. O.

Le Sr. Howard est de la même stature et age: portant long cheveulx couleur de chataigne: le visage ronde: peu de barbe: semblablement accompagné de deux aultres; selon les advertences que j'ay, ils ont pris le chemin de Bruxelles.

Sur ce, Monsieur, je vous baise le mains en grande haste. De Londres, le 8th Septembre, 1613.

FERD. DE BOISSEHOT.

M. Montmorenci, Governor of Bruges, in a letter to King James of the 18th September[1], informs him, that on hearing of the arrival of His Majesty's messenger, the two parties of English gentlemen made their escape, the one on horseback, the other in a *chariot voiturier*. Mr. Howard and his seconds, who were in the latter, were arrested at Courtray, and he had little doubt the other party would be captured at Gand. Sir William Turnbull recommended that the Governor should be rewarded with 100 crowns, or an ambling horse, for having arrested them.

Declaration of Essex's Seconds.

Whereas there has been a new relation of the quarrel betwixt my Lo. of Essex and Mr. Henry Howard, after his Maj. had reconciled them, made by the four seconds before Sir Horatio Vere and Sir John Wentworth, and the same being drawn into the brief by Mr. Horton, one that was secretary to the last Lord Treasurer, and we setting our hands thereto, not reading it, but only hearing it read, not mistrusting anything, but to find just dealing, have since seen a copy thereof, which we find contrary to that which was then agreed upon, and merely false in some main points;

[1] S. P. O. Flanders.

we have a sight of the original copy for our satisfaction, not to satisfy the world, for the which we do unjustly suffer a hard censure.

Be it known, therefore, to all men, that we do utterly disclaim from any such writing. And whereas we have been hitherto tender and sparing of their reputations, now, finding that they have put this trick upon us, we do publish to the world no writing but the first to be true — to which we have only set our hands — and they have acknowledged to be true before Sir Horatio Vere and Sir Jno. Wentworth, and at divers other times to others; and so true, as they neither can nor dare deny it, in which is plain to be seen they might have fought if they would. And thus much we will be ready to justify, upon the sacrament first, and then with our swords.[1]

WALTER DEVEREUX.
RICH. OUSELEY.

Mr. Chamberlain wrote, on the 24th October, that the quarrel between Essex and Howard was compounded and taken up by the King himself, but that the matter was not ended; it was afterwards hushed up by the authority of the Council, and in a subsequent letter Mr. Chamberlain encloses a proclamation about the late quarrel, "penned by the "King's own hand."

[1] S. P. O.

CHAPTER IX.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMISSION, AND SENTENCE ANNULLING THE MARRIAGE OF ESSEX. — ROCHESTER CREATED EARL OF SOMERSET, MARRIES LADY ESSEX. — FESTIVITIES AND PRESENTS ON THE OCCASION. — ROCHESTER GUIDED BY OVERBURY. — THEY QUARREL. — OVERBURY IS SENT TO THE TOWER, AND THERE POISONED. — SOMERSET AND HIS WIFE ARRESTED. — THEY ARE TRIED AND CONVICTED OF THE MURDER OF SIR THOMAS OVERBURY. — THE UNEASINESS OF JAMES. — LORD AND LADY SOMERSET ARE PARDONED.

WE now return to the proceedings of the Commissioners, the majority of whom, including the Archbishop, were unwilling, under the circumstances of the case, to sanction the dissolution of the sacred bonds of matrimony. They were tampered with in various ways; the King endeavoured by his arguments to persuade the Archbishop, but in vain. His Grace desired permission to retire from the Commission; but his rank and authority were wanted, and he was not allowed to do so. Attempts were made to intimidate him, by throwing out insinuations of various kinds. Among other arguments brought forward to move him to consent to the dissolution without farther proof, this was used by Sir Daniel Dun: "What a disgrace will this be to my L. "Chamberlain and his daughter, if it should not "go forward." To which the Archbishop answered,

"They should have looked to that before they did "begin it; we were not the men that set the "matter on foot. If it were a disgrace, they put it "on themselves; but, quoth I, am I, to save any man "from disgrace, to send my soul to hell, to give a "sentence whereof I see no ground? I will never do "it." And he kept his ground right manfully, against the obscure hints of James, the persuasions of some, and the sneers and insinuations of others, mingled with threats of the consequence of his obstinacy; a circumstance reflecting no small honour on his character, in that age.

He went farther; he wrote a paper of reasons against annulling the marriage, in which he cited the authority of many of the fathers, and learned divines and doctors. He expressed great displeasure at the idea of the marriage contract being dissolved by collusion between the parties. It pleased the King to answer this paper, who introduced a new distinction, which Essex consented to allow, *impotentiam versus hanc:* but the quarrel between him and Henry Howard occurring just then, it was resolved not to examine the Earl again, lest he should, in his resentment, give such evidence as would prevent the annulling of the marriage; and he, hearing how the last admission was disapproved, recalled his consent, and it was settled that the case should be decided on the oath of Lady Essex alone.

The Commission as then composed, not being sufficiently flexible, its sittings were adjourned, by royal command, until the 18th September. In the interim,

the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester were added to the number; and on the 25th, by a majority of seven to five, a sentence was passed, declaring the marriage "utterly void." The Archbishop, the Bishop of London, Sir John Benett, Doctors James and Edwards, formed the minority.

Mr. Chamberlain writes thus: —

The marriage twixt the Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard is dissolved, and pronounced a nullity, by the Bishop of Winchester, who with the Bishop of Rochester, were only supernumerary to the first commission, and so cast the balance by weight of number, being seven to five. The morning that the matter was to be decided, the King sent express commandment, that in opening, they should not argue, nor use any reasons, but only give their assent or dissent; and in the sentence there is no cause exprest, but in these terms, *propter latens et incurabile impedimentum.*[1]

The sentence was no sooner pronounced, than the approaching marriage of Rochester to Lady Frances was declared. That she might not lose rank by the change of husbands, Rochester was, on the 4th November, created Earl of Somerset and Baron of Brancepeth; and, writes Mr. Chamberlain[2] —

It is thought he shall not stay here, but ascend one step higher, and shortly be made Marquis of Orkney, that his mistress may be a better woman, if it may be, than she was before. The marriage was thought should be celebrated at Audley End the next week, and great preparation there was to receive the King; but I hear that the Queen being won,

[1] S. P. O. To Sir D. Carleton, 24th October, 1613.
[2] S. P. O. To Sir D. Carleton, 22nd November.

and having promised to be present, it is put off till Christmas, and then to be performed at Whitehall. All the talk now is of masquing and feasting at these towardly marriages, whereof the one is appointed on St. Stephen's day in Christmas, the other for twelfthtide. The King bears the charge of the first, all save the apparel; and no doubt the Queen will do as much on her side, which must be a masque of maids, if they may be found, and that is all the charge she means to be at, save the bride's wedding gown, and the marriage bed, wherein she will not exceed 500*l.*, for she says her maid Drummond is rich enough otherwise, as well in wealth as in virtue and favor.

30*th Dec.* 1613.—The marriage was upon Sunday, without such bravery as was looked for. She was married in her hair[1], and led to chapel by her bridesmen, a Duke of Saxony that is here, and the Earl of Northampton, her great uncle. The Dean of Westminster preached, and bestowed a great deal of commendation upon the young couple, on the Countess of Salisbury, and on the mother vine, as he called her, the Countess of Suffolk. The Dean of the Chapel coupled them, which fell out somewhat strangely, that the same man should marry the same person, in the same place, on the self-same day, after six or seven years,—I know not whether,—the former party yet living. All the difference was, that the King gave her last time, and now her father. The King and Queen were both present, and tasted wafers and hippocras, as at ordinary weddings.

I have little or no commendation for the masque, either for device or dancing, only that it was rich and costly. The masques were, the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Pembroke, Montgomery, Dorset, and Salisbury, the Lord Walden, with

[1] It was the custom of virgin brides to go to the altar with their hair hanging in loose curls; it was considered a mark of no trifling audacity that she assumed that distinction.

his three brethren, Sir Thomas, Henry, and Charles Howard, Lord Scroope, Lord North, and Lord Hay.

The next day the Prince and bridegroom ran at the ring, and yesternight there was a medley masque, of five English and five Scots, who are called the high dancers, among whom Sergeant-Major Borde, one Abraham Crummie, and Achmuty, that was at Padua and Venice, are esteemed the most principal and lofty.

The Archbishop was at the marriage, but not the Bishop of London.

Sir Ralph Winwood was there likewise, and had a very fair pair of gloves, of three pound price; which he well deserved, for he made a suit of apparel against this wedding, of only doublet, hose, and cloak, all black, and without any kind of gold, silver, or embroidery, that cost him above four score pounds, which I write, that you may see how unreasonable things are risen here, and what a chargeable world we live in. He presented a very fair basin and ewer, of 225 oz., that was given him by the States, and of so excellent workmanship, that the goldsmiths here offered 20*l.* an oz. for it. The presents, indeed, were more in number and value than ever were given, I think, to any subject in this land. It were too long, neither could I, if I would, set down the tenth part of them; yet for a taste of all, you shall have some few that come to hand.

The City, the Merchant Adventurers, the East India Company, the Farmers of the Customs, sent all presents of plate to a great value, which belike were well taken, for the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs had rich gloves sent in requital.

Sir Thos. Lake, six goodly candlesticks, that cost above 1000 marks.

Sir Rob. Cary and Sir Rob. Mansfield lighted both upon one invention; which was, fire-shovel, tongs, andirons, creepers, and all furniture of a chimney, of silver.

Another gave a cradle of silver, to burn sea-coal.

Sir Fulke Greville, a cup of gold.

Sir Chas. Wilmot, a warming-pan of gold.

The Countess of Shrewsbury, a basin and ewer, two pots, and some vessel, all of gold.

The Earl of Exeter, basin and ewer of gold; his lady, a pot of gold.

The Lord Admiral, a very rich basin and ewer of gold, set with stones, that was given him by the King of Spain.

The L. Privy Seal, plate to the value of 1500*l.*, besides a sword to the bridegroom, the hilts and all the furniture of gold, curiously wrought and enamelled: the very workmanship cost 100 marks, and the sword 500*l.*

The Earl of Salisbury, one suit of hangings that cost his father 1500*l.*, and another suit of 800*l.*

You may guess at the rest by this scantling.

5th Jan. 1614.—The Lord Admiral's present proves not to be pure metal, now it comes to the touch. The presents are not valued by the goldsmiths at above 12,000*l.* This great marriage continues still in gallantries and triumphs.

The Lord Mayor gave an entertainment in honour of the event, by royal command; and the festivities terminated with the presentation of the "Masque of "Flowers."

How little did the guilty pair conceive, in this their hour of triumph, that the very ground they stood upon, firmly based as it seemed on the favour and affection of the King, was even then crumbling away beneath their feet.

When Carr became, after the death of Salisbury, the *de facto* Minister, he called to his aid Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of considerable ability and knowledge

of affairs, by whose advice he steered his course. When, however, it became known that Carr intended to marry Lady Essex, his counsellor endeavoured to dissuade him, as "nothing could be more destructive "to their hopes than the committal of so great a "public injustice as to marry another man's wife, "he living;" and begged him to turn his thoughts towards a more honourable object than one "whose "disloyalty was infamous, and the brand of which "would mark him also."

Henry Peyton, servant to Sir Thomas Overbury, gave the following account of the quarrel between his master and Rochester:—"In the quiet of the night, "about a month before his master's commitment, he "was attending in the chamber next the Privy "Gallery for his master, who was waiting for Lord "Rochester, who did not come in till two or three "o'clock. On Lord Rochester's coming, he said to "Overbury, 'What, are you there yet?' To whom "Sir Thomas replied, 'Am I here, where have you "been? Will you never leave the company of that "base woman?' Which Rochester denying, he said, "'It is too manifest; and the King has bestowed "great honor and gifts on you, and you overthrow "yourself and all your fortunes by haunting the "company of that woman;' and, therefore, seeing he "would take such courses as to ruin himself and "fortunes, desired he might next morning have that "which was due to him: 'and you shall stand as "you can; and I will shift for myself.' To which "Rochester answered, 'And my legs are straight

" enough to stand on mine own,' and so departed in " displeasure; and, as far as this deponent knoweth, " who daily attended his master, they were never " perfectly reconciled."[1]

Rochester acquainted Lady Essex with all that Overbury had said, which so inflamed the evil passions of that lady, that she immediately resolved —and it cannot be doubted with the connivance, if not the aid, of Rochester—to remove Overbury. Accordingly, on the day that the King and Queen accompanied their daughter, the bride of the Elector Palatine, to Rochester, Lady Essex sent for one Sir David Wood, to Greenwich. Sir David had quarrelled with Overbury, and the latter refusing to meet him in the field, Sir David meant to "give him the " bastinado;" which Lady Essex hearing, thought he would be a man fit for her purpose. She offered him 1000*l.* to kill Overbury, to which he said, that for all the gold in the world he would not be a hangman, nor take a Christian's blood; but if she would get Rochester's promise, under his hand, or given before a witness, that he would, after it was done, set him at liberty, he would " give him the sooner knocks for " her sake." She required time, and soon after sent to him to say that could not be; but that she would, on her life, warrant that he should be conveyed away in safety. To which he replied, " that he might " be accounted a great fool, if, upon a woman's word, " he went to Tyburn."[2]

This plan failing, an attempt was made to remove

[1] S. P. O.

[2] Deposition of Sir D. W. in S. P. O.

him from the country, by offering him an embassy to Russia. This he declined, nothing doubting that the friendship of Rochester would bear him harmless. So far from that, the opportunity was instantly seized to commit him to the Tower for contempt, on the 22nd April, 1613. Mr. Chamberlain says, that the King desired to send him abroad, "to remove "him from my L. of Rochester, as thinking it "dishonor to him that the world should have an "opinion that Rochester ruled him, and Overbury "ruled Rochester."[1] Whatever may have been the motives of the King, there is no doubt that they were instilled into him by the contrivance of Northampton and Rochester. Sir Thomas was no sooner safely enclosed within the walls of the Tower, than the Lieutenant, Sir W. Waad, was replaced by Sir Jervas Elwes; and one Weston, servant to the infamous Mrs. Turner, was appointed to be keeper of the prisoner. Weston was then sent for by Mrs. Turner, when Lady Essex asked him if he would give Sir Thomas a glass of water which should be sent him, and he should be well rewarded. Shortly after, his son, who was apprentice to a haberdasher that served the Countess with fans of feathers and other wares, brought him a glass of water of a yellowish and greenish colour. This he showed to the Lieutenant, who rebuked him Christianly, and he cast it into a gutter and brake it.[2] About a fortnight

[1] S. P. O. 29th April, 1613.

[2] Weston's confession. There are two letters in the S. P. O. from Lady Essex to the Lieutenant of the Tower, which she sent with wine and jelly for Overbury.

after, some of Rochester's servants came to inquire how Overbury did, and whether he would like tarts or jelly, which were sent him as coming from Rochester, and which Weston received orders from the Countess not to allow any person but Overbury to eat.

In June, Rochester wrote to Overbury, enclosing a white powder, which he desired him to take without fear: "It will make you sick, but fear not; I will "make this a means for your delivery, and for the "recovery of your health."

During his imprisonment, Overbury was never allowed to see any of his friends, from which it may be inferred that he possessed some secret which it was dreaded that he might divulge. Every article of his food appears, at one time or another, to have been drugged; but although he languished, his strength of body carried him on, and his enemies becoming impatient, a dose strong enough to do its fatal work was administered to him as a glyster on the 14th September. He was buried in haste and secrecy, without the commonest decency being observed. It was soon suspected that Overbury had been unfairly dealt with; but it was not until Somerset's influence began to wane before the rising favour of George Villiers, that any body ventured to attack the criminals.

Northampton died the 15th June, 1614; the Earl of Suffolk became Lord Treasurer, and Somerset succeeded him in his office of Lord Chamberlain. George Villiers, a younger son of Sir George Villiers,

of Brookesby, Leicestershire, obtained the office of Cupbearer to the King. Tall, well favoured, and polished by his residence at the French Court, this youth immediately attracted the notice of his royal master. In April of the following year, he was knighted, and made Gentleman of the Bedchamber; and by the contrivance of the Earls of Bedford, Pembroke, Hertford, and with the consent of the Queen, was fairly installed as rival favourite.

Then did Secretary Winwood hint to James the suspicions that existed concerning the manner of Overbury's death. Sir E. Coke was instructed to investigate the matter, and the result was, the resolution to try Somerset, his wife, Sir Jervas Elwes, Mrs. Turner, Weston, and Franklin. Sir Thomas Monson, who had recommended Weston to be keeper of Overbury, was arraigned, but his trial was not concluded.

Somerset accompanied the King to Royston one Friday, and then taking leave, James hung about his neck, slabbering his cheeks, saying, "For God's sake, "when shall I see thee again? On my soul, I shall "neither eat nor sleep until you come again!" The Earl told him, on Monday. "For God's sake, let "me!" said James; "Shall I, shall I?" and lolled about his neck. "Then for God's sake, give thy Lady "this kiss for me,"—doing the same at the stairs' head, the middle, and the foot of the stairs. Somerset was not in his coach when the King used these very words, which were repeated to Sir A. Weldon,—"I shall "never see his face more." On the arrival of

Somerset in London, he was arrested, his wife having been so previously to his arrival.[1]

At an inquiry before Lord Zouch, Secretary Winwood, Sir Fulke Greville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Duchy, Richard Weston had, on the 27th September, made a full confession. Somerset was committed on the 18th October, 1615; but Lady Somerset being pregnant, was for the time placed under surveillance. Sir Jervas Elwes, Turner, Franklin, and Weston, were convicted and hanged during the month of November.

On the 6th April, 1616, we learn from Mr. Chamberlain that —

The Lady of Somerset was committed to the Tower on so short warning, that she had scant leisure to shed a few tears over her little daughter at the parting; otherwise she carried herself every way constantly enough, saving that she did passionately deprecate and entreat the Lieutenant, that she might not be lodged in Sir Thomas Overbury's lodging.

20*th May.*—I come tired from hearing a piece of the Earl of Somerset's arraignment, who is but now in the midst of his answer, the proceedings against him having continued ever since ten o'clock in the morning till five, that he began to answer for himself. He denies all, even his own letters, saying they be counterfeited. I was there by six o'clock in the morning, and for 10*s.* had a reasonable place; but the weather is so hot, and I grew so faint with fasting, that I could hold out no longer, especially when I heard they had sent to provide torches. More ladies and great personages there, than ever were seen, I think, at any trial.

[1] Sec. Hist. of the Court of James I., p. 411.

His lady was arraigned yesterday, and made shorter work by confessing the indictment, so that all was over and we home before noon. She was pity by her sober demeanor, which yet, in my opinion, was more curious and confident than was fit for a lady in such distresses; and yet she shed or made show of some few tears divers times.

The Earl of Essex was at her arraignment, but somewhat more privately than this day, when he stood full in his face.[1]

Lady Somerset wore at her trial a dress of black tammel, a cypress chapèron, a ruff, and cuffs of cobweb lawn. While the indictment was being read, she trembled and shed tears; at the name of Weston, she concealed her face with her fan; and on being called to plead, answered, with an obeisance, Guilty, "with a low voice, but wonderful fearful." When she was asked whether she had anything to say why sentence should not be passed, she only begged the Lords to intercede for her, but in so low a tone, that the Lord High Steward could not hear her.

The love of personal decoration, for which Somerset was remarkable, displayed itself in his dress. He wore, at his trial, "a plain black satin suit, laid with "two satin laces in a seam; a gown of uncut velvet, "lined with unshorn, all the sleeves laid with satin "lace; a pair of gloves with satin tops; his George "about his neck, his hair curled, his visage pale, his "beard long, his eyes sunk in his head."

He pleaded "Not Guilty;" but on being asked whether he had anything to say why judgment of death should not be given against him, acknow-

[1] S. P. O.

ledged that the sentence of their Lordships must be just.

The uneasiness shown by James during Somerset's trial, the menaces of the latter while in the Tower, and the efforts of Bacon to soothe him, have given rise to many comments, and appear to have arisen from a dread on the part of the King, that some secret, disgraceful to him, might be revealed, which possibly was his connivance at the removal of Sir Thomas Overbury.

"I will not omit," writes Mr. Sherborne[1], "to "acquaint you that the day of the late Earl of "Somerset's arraignment, His Majesty was so ex- "treme sad and discontented, as he did retire "himself from all company, and did forbear both "dinner and supper, nothing giving him content- "ment, until he had heard what answer the said "Earl had made. It shewed something was feared "would in passion have broken from him; but "when His Majesty had notice that nothing had "escaped him more than what he was forced to "answer to the business then in hand, His Majesty's "countenance was soon changed, and he hath ever "sithence continued in a good opinion."[2]

On the 13th July, Lady Somerset's pardon was signed; Somerset declared he was an innocent man, and would accept nothing less than a reversal of the judgment. This could not be granted, and although

[1] To Sir D. Carleton, May 31., in S. P. O.

[2] See Hallam's Const. Hist. i. 347. note, for other evidences of the King's alarm.

he might have had his pardon, with all his jewels restored to him, and an allowance of 4000*l.* a year, Lord and Lady Somerset continued to live together prisoners in the Tower until 18th January, 1622, when the King, by order in Council, set them at liberty, confining them, however, to either Grayes or Cowsham, two houses of Lord Wallingford's [1] in Oxfordshire, and a distance of three miles from either of them.

James also promised to restore Somerset's property [2], but died before he did so; and Somerset, vainly petitioning Charles to fulfil his father's promise, was reduced to great poverty and obscurity. The love which had caused him and his wife "to "break through all restraints of decency or shame, "declined in the private life to which they were "condemned, until they loathed the sight of each "other; and for long, though residing in the same "house, they lived as strangers to one another." [3] Lady Somerset was afflicted with one of those painful and lingering diseases incident to women; and on her death-bed, is said, in the trouble of her mind, to have cried out much upon the Earl of Essex, whom she had so greatly injured.

She died in 1632, leaving a daughter Anne, then sixteen years of age. William Lord Russell, after-

[1] Sir William Knollys, afterwards Earl of Banbury, ob. 1632, æt. 88.

[2] It appears that in the last year of his reign, King James, dissatisfied with Buckingham, renewed his correspondence with Somerset, and gave him hopes of a complete restoration to favour. — Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 347. note.

[3] A. Wilson, Life and Reign of James I., p. 699.

wards Earl and Duke of Bedford, became attached to her; his father, naturally averse to an alliance with the Somersets, desired him to choose a wife out of any family but that. Opposition only strengthened their attachment; the King sent the Duke of Lennox to Bedford to intercede for the young couple, who at length consented, provided Somerset gave a fortune of 12,000*l.* with his daughter. To do this, the latter was forced to sell his house at Chiswick, his plate, jewels, and furniture; but by reducing himself to complete poverty, he secured the happiness of his daughter, who married Lord Russell in 1637, and became the mother of William Lord Russell, who died on the scaffold, the 21st July, 1683. She had been brought up in such careful ignorance of the cause of her parents' misfortunes, that some time after her marriage she was found in a swoon on the floor, having read in a pamphlet an account of the frightful crimes of which her father and mother had been convicted.[1]

The Earl of Somerset survived his wife until the year 1645; he was buried in St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

[1] Pennant's Journey, p. 496.

CHAPTER X.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX—*continued.*

THE ELECTOR PALATINE MARRIES THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH.—THEIR FRIENDSHIP FOR ESSEX.—ESSEX RETIRES TO CHARTLEY.—ARTHUR WILSON IS TAKEN INTO HIS SERVICE.—SIR WILLIAM SEYMOUR MARRIES LADY FRANCES DEVEREUX.—ORIGIN OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.—THE ELECTOR PALATINE CHOSEN KING OF BOHEMIA.—ESSEX SERVES IN THE PALATINATE.

I TRUST my readers will pardon the episode contained in the last chapter, for the sake of the moral it bears. Apparently successful as were the Earl and Countess of Somerset in their guilty projects, we are struck with the rapidity and weight with which retribution fell on them; their passionate and irresistible love turned to hatred, each accusing the other of being the author of their misfortunes, they ceased to be even friends at the moment when, shunned by all the world beside, it was most necessary they should be all in all to each other; and in this condition, having lost all those worldly advantages for which they had sacrificed their souls' welfare, dragged on for years a miserable and remorseful existence.

In October, 1612, Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, came over to England to espouse the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James, then in her sixteenth year. The Elector was lodged in Essex

House. Great preparations had been made to celebrate the auspicious event by a long series of festivities, when, on the 6th November, rejoicing gave way to deep and universal mourning, occasioned by the death of Henry, Prince of Wales, who, after an illness of ten days, was carried off by a low malignant fever. It was speedily rumoured that the Prince had been poisoned, and a very minute account exists of a *post mortem* examination taken in consequence. There does not appear to have been any ground for these reports; indeed, the practice of physicians was so fantastic and absurd, that one can hardly believe that any patient could be recovered by them from dangerous illness. There can be no doubt that the heir to the throne was attended by the ablest of the faculty; yet we find that the remedies considered most effective, and the failure of which caused the Prince to be given over, were pigeons applied to the head, and a split cock to the soles of the feet.

The regrets of the nation for his loss were more lasting and profound than those of his father, who shortened the mourning as much as possible. On Christmas Day, the Court was ordered to mourn in satin: two days after the royal pair were affianced, and the marriage was celebrated on St. Valentine's Day, 1613. From this time may be dated the intimacy, and even friendship, which existed between the Elector and his consort, and Lord Essex, during their lives.

After the dissolution of his marriage in the autumn following, Lord Essex, disgusted with the treatment

he had experienced, retired to his house at Chartley. The disgrace and ridicule attending the whole of the proceedings, must have been galling indeed to a proud and sensitive spirit.

To repay the marriage portion of Lady Essex, he was forced to sell the Manor of Bennington, in Hertfordshire; and it is likely that he strove to drown the recollection of his domestic misfortunes by plunging into dissipation, as Arthur Wilson informs us that he cut down his fine woods at Adderston, and also received pecuniary assistance from his grandmother; while a letter[1] exists, written by his father's old secretary, Edward Reynolds, who had heard some "private whisperings" that his Lordship "hath of "late somewhat declined from that path, wherein "heretofore he had, without straying, directed his "steps; and a little blemished his honor by the "company of some persons that have abused the "goodness of his noble nature." Mr. Reynolds, urged by the "true and everlasting love" he bore to the memory of Essex's "late thrice worthy father, "the perfect pattern of all true bounty, honor, and "nobility," and the love and respect he had for the son, earnestly entreated him, if there were "any "profane spirits" that sought to draw him to dishonourable courses, that he would have before his eyes the lively image of his father, and remember that he was the son of that "great and renowned Earl of "Essex, whom all the world admired, and whose

[1] In S. P. O.

" memory all England doth, and ever will, honor and " reverence."

From this period, 1614, we are indebted to Arthur Wilson[1] for a very amusing account of his life, in the service of Lord Essex for a great many years. The accident which introduced him to that nobleman deserves a short notice. Having spent nearly two years abroad, instead of at the University, Wilson, on his return, became a clerk in the Exchequer Office, which place he shortly afterwards lost, and with a few crowns in his pocket, took a chamber in Holborn, and living thriftily, addicted himself to reading and poetry. When his crowns were finished, he went home to his father, " and got small comfort there." " Yet," says he, " something I got of him, and some- " thing from him. That which I got of him, he gave " me; that which I got from him, I took. For once, " finding his closet open, I very ungraciously took " from him ten Barbary ducats, out of a little box, " which cost me many a tear since, when I seriously " called to mind the injustice and wickedness of the " fact." Just at this time, when the chances were even, whether Master Wilson would go to the gallows or no, a relative of his induced Mr. Wingfield, " a " grave gentleman," steward to the Earl of Essex, to take him down to Chartley.

While he was there, the following event occurred, which he relates as follows: " Toward Michaelmas " (1614) a great alarm and outcry arose in the " house after dinner; some thought it was fire, some

[1] Account of his own life, printed in Peck's Desid. Curiosa, p. 460.

" thieves, and all ran hither and thither. My Lord " of Essex, and some Lords and Gentlemen with " him, ran out on the drawbridge, for the house " had a very deep moat around it. I ran where " I saw others run, into the laundry. When I came " there I found the cause. One of the laundry " maids rinsing clothes in the moat upon a little " gallery for that purpose, she fell into the water; " another coming to help her, was pulled in by " her; the third to help both, was pulled in by " both, which caused the shrieks and noise which " begot this disturbance. The two last got out by " help of poles the first comers reached unto them; " but she who fell in first, with the plunging of the " water, was driven without reach, or sense of taking " hold. So that my Lord of Essex, and all who " stood on the bridge, cried out, 'Now she sinks! " now she's gone!' I came, as God would have " it, just as she was so, and had only a glimpse " of where she sunk; and being no time to study " what to do, I instantly, with a running *lep*, " bounced into the water. My plunging then " brought her up again, and holding her up with " one arm, I swam with the other; the people drew " her out, and with much ado recovered her. For " this my Lord of Essex took me into liking, and " would have me wait on him in his chamber; and " he presently furnished me with clothes, which " begot envy; and entrusted me with the keeping " of his private purse."

Had Essex known the antecedents of Arthur Wilson's life, which he has so freely confessed to us, he

might have deferred for a time this last mark of confidence; yet, in justice to him, it must be added, that for many years he was the faithful and constant companion of his master's fortunes.

Every body is familiar with the romantic history of the attachment and marriage of William Seymour[1] and Lady Arabella Stewart, their escape from the jealous vigilance of King James, her recapture, rigorous confinement, and consequent derangement. This unhappy victim to the royal dread of an imaginary danger, was released from her sufferings on the 25th September, 1615, when Seymour, who, to avoid imprisonment, had remained on the Continent, was pardoned, and suffered to return home.

On the 22nd February, in the ensuing year, Mr. Chamberlain informs Sir Dudley Carleton that "Sir "W. Seymour, that married the Lady Arabella, is in "some forwardness to marry the Earl of Essex's "sister." This was the Lady Frances Devereux, whose marriage took place the 3rd March, 1617, at Drayton Basset. Although this event in the life of his favourite sister must have drawn Essex for a time from his retirement, Chartley continued to be his permanent abode, where he occupied himself with the affairs of his county and the pastimes of the chase, to which he was devoted. There is a horse bridge over the Trent, at Shugborough, which, according to existing tradition, was built by the county of

[1] Succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Hertford in 1621; was created Marquis of Hertford 1642; restored to the dukedom of Somerset, 1660, and died the same year.

Stafford to enable the Earl more conveniently to reach his hunting ground in Cannock Chase.

In 1617, the King made a progress to Stafford, where he was received at the gate by the Earl of Essex, High Steward of the town; the King got out of his coach and mounted a horse of state, making the Earl mount another, ride before him "with his plumes "up," and carry the sword. At Coventry the King knighted Sir Walter Devereux, base brother to the Earl.[1]

On the 1st May, 1619, Essex was sent to meet and welcome the Marquis de la Tremouille, Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of France; and on the 19th of the same month, walked in the funeral procession of the Queen, who had died of dropsy on the 2nd.

An event was now at hand which enabled Essex to prove his gratitude to the Elector Palatine and his consort for the regard which they evinced towards him, and his zeal for the Protestant religion; at the same time drawing him from his life of seclusion to indulge his desire for military service. This event was that terrible war between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, by which Germany was torn and devastated from 1618 to 1648; in which all Europe was deeply interested, and every nation, either openly or indirectly, took some share.

When the diet of 1555, called the "Religious "Pacification of Augsburg," confirmed to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, many points of dispute between the parties were left un-

[1] Nichol's Prog. James I.

settled. For a time this was of small consequence. The wise and mild administration of Maximilian II. tended greatly to appease the enmity of both sides; but, unhappily, that Prince did not live long enough to cement his good work, and dying in 1575, was succeeded by his son Rudolph, a weak man, whose favourite pursuit was the discovery of the philosopher's stone. When his brother Mathias rebelled, and deprived him of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, Rudolph, to preserve the loyalty of the Bohemians, granted to them a Charter, called the "Letter of "Majesty," confirming their privileges, and granting entire freedom of religion. A clause of this Charter declared that "the Protestants should have the full "right to build new schools and churches, not only "in the towns, but in the country also." The breach of this privilege, backed by the intolerance of Ferdinand of Grätz, gave rise to the Thirty Years' War.

When the congregations of Brunau and Klostergraben were about to consecrate their newly-built churches, the Roman Catholic clergy seized them, pulling down the one and closing the other. Remonstrance was made to the Emperor, by whose order this violence was said to be committed; the imperial answer stated that His Majesty was of opinion the States had abused the Charter, and the deputies had rendered themselves liable to be punished as rebels. A meeting of the Protestant nobles in Prague was held at the house of Count Thurn. It was resolved, and a deputation sent to inform the Imperial Commissioners, that no order or decree

tending to endanger the liberty of the Protestant religion would be received or obeyed.

On the 23rd May, 1618, the Protestant deputation, attended by a great multitude crying out for vengeance, proceeded to the Hradschin, where the Council of State was assembled to receive them. The determination of the Protestants was received with great uproar; taunts and recriminations passed between them and Slawata and Martinitz, the two most unpopular of the Imperial Ministers, which were abruptly ended by some one crying out, "Wherefore "all this delay? Throw them from the window in "good old Bohemian fashion!" By the excited and angry spectators these words were received with loud cheers, and instantly put in practice; the two obnoxious Commissioners, with the Secretary Fabricius, were hurled from the window. Happily for them, a dunghill lay beneath, at a depth of nearly eighty feet, on which they fell with slight injury. Fabricius is said, indeed, to have apologised immediately to Martinitz for having taken the liberty of falling above his Excellency.

The Protestants immediately elected a Council of Government, expelled the Jesuits, and banished the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Prague, with many of the clergy; at the same time that they sent humble apologies to Vienna for the violence used, with protestations of their loyalty.

In August, 1619, Ferdinand of Grätz was elected Emperor, in succession to Mathias, who had died in March. At the same time that he received the

Imperial crown at Frankfort, the news arrived that he had lost another at Prague. The Bohemians had formally renounced their allegiance, and proceeded to the election of a new king.

Their choice fell upon Frederick V., Elector Palatine, who, after some hesitation, accepted the offered crown. Of pleasing address, and amiable disposition, this prince was quite unequal to the duty of a leader in the arduous struggle about to commence. It is probable that a consciousness of his deficiency made him waver, and it is said that his choice was determined by his high-spirited wife, who declared she would "rather eat black bread at his royal board, "than feast at his electoral table." On the 31st October he made his solemn entry into Prague, and was crowned King of Bohemia on the 4th November.

This intelligence excited in England the most extravagant joy. The preachers, with Archbishop Abbot at their head, inflamed from the pulpit the passions of their congregations, until all England, with one voice, called upon the King to support the cause of God in that of the Elector. James was involved in a dilemma. On the one hand, it was impossible for him to sanction the doctrine that subjects might depose their sovereign, and, therefore, he could not support his son-in-law as King of Bohemia. On the other hand, had he been so inclined, it would not have been safe, in the temper of the people of England, to stand by and see the Elector, who was looked upon as the champion of Protestantism, stripped of his hereditary dominions. While Spinola was pre-

paring an army of 30,000 men in Flanders, the King continued undecided, and made no preparations; contenting himself with demanding, through his ambassador, the object of the armament, to which he received no satisfactory answer: but it was not until Spinola was about to march for the Palatinate, that he resolved on acting.

King James then adopted a middle course; he granted a supply of money, and an army of volunteers, for the defence of the Palatinate. On the 6th June, 1620, Sir R. Yonge writes to Lord Zouch, Warden of the Cinque Ports: — "The King has re- "solved to send 4000 men to assist the King of "Bohemia; not to go into Bohemia, but to the "King's own country. Sir Horace Vere [1], General, "Sir John Barclay, his lieutenant, of them which are "presently sent over, being 2000. Of these 2000, "my Lords of Oxford [2], Essex, Gerard [3], Grey [4], and "Sir Edward Sackville to be captains." [5]

[1] Youngest son of Geoffrey Vere, of Kirby, Essex, who was third son of John, Earl of Oxford. He was knighted at Cadiz, 1596, and subsequently created Baron of Tilbury.

[2] Henry de Vere, tenth Earl of Oxford, who in his youth lived a riotous and debauched life, though he afterwards became highly esteemed as one of the leaders of the Country party. His early reputation caused the following squib to be put forth at this time:—

Some say Sir Edward Cecil can
Do as much as any man;
But I say no, for Sir Horace Vere
Hath carried the Earl of Oxford where
He neither shall have wine nor w—e;
Now Hercules himself could do no more.

[3] Lord Gerard, of Gerard's Bromley, in Staffordshire, extinct 1711.

[4] Henry, second Lord Grey of Groby, created Earl of Stamford, 1628.

[5] S. P. O.

The force that went over was only 2200 men. Oxford and Essex had each a company of 250 men in this regiment, with the promise of two more regiments being sent over as speedily as possible, the command of which was to be given to those noblemen. So many volunteers flocked to Essex out of love, that he, unwilling to refuse any, paid fifty out of his own pocket. In his company of 300, there were above 100 gentlemen of quality.

On the last day of August, this little force crossed the Rhine below Wesel, by a bridge of boats, and joining Prince Henry of Nassau, who had collected 2000 horse and 400 musqueteers from the adjacent garrisons, they proceeded on their march to join the other Princes of the Union in the Palatinate. On arriving before Coblenz, they made show as if they would pass the Mosel, but fell back at night, crossed the Rhine, and made for Frankfort by forced marches of "twenty miles a day and better, and all my Lord's "servants, and he himself on foot, to encourage "others, did the same." This feint was ably conceived and executed by Prince Henry. Spinola, who had captured Oppenheim, on learning the approach of this force, fell back towards Bacharach to intercept it, and was completely overreached. On hearing how they had escaped him, he made a rapid march to the Main with all his horse, and 4000 foot; but attempting a passage where the water was too deep, all his ammunition was wetted, and some men lost. He was obliged to retire, and on the 24th September, the Dutch and English passed the Main by a ford

near Frankfort, and the following day arrived at Darmstadt. Here Prince Henry, who had acted as convoy, left the English, returning with his Dutchmen to their garrisons. From Darmstadt, marching by Bensheim and Worms, the English joined the army of the Union, under the leading of the Margrave of Anspach, on the 1st October.

After a short rest, the army marched to surprise Alzey, which had been taken by the Spaniards; on their road thither they fell in with Spinola, who with 6000 foot, and 2000 horse, had hoped to effect something by surprise. The Protestant forces amounted to 6000 foot, and 4000 horse. The two armies drew up on opposite hills. It was resolved to attack the Spaniards. "The Dutch, in courtesy, yielded "the vanguard to the English, which before they "stood upon, as a punctilio of honor." The advanced corps of English was accordingly drawn out, and awaited the order to attack, which never arrived. The slow and heavy Anspach, with his dull colleagues in command, suffered the Spaniards to retreat under their very eyes, without making the smallest effort either to check them, or to prevent their junction with their main body at Oppenheim, which he might have done with ease, being nearer to that town than they were. "The Earl of Essex being "informed of this by some who knew the country, "pressed the Margrave of Anspach to it, desiring "him not to let slip an opportunity so happily put "into his hand. He, not well pleased at being urged "a thing so contrary to his humour, replied angrily,

" 'There is a fort betwixt us and the town, and " we must pass thither at the mercy of their cannon.' " Sir Horace Vere, hearing this answer, said, 'When " shall we then fight, if we shun the cannon?' But " no persuasion can be prevalent, where power and " disaffection join their force." [1]

After this specimen, it is unnecessary to give more particulars of the conduct of an army, in which the English force was but subordinate; it may easily be believed the campaign was inglorious.

After harassing their men with useless marches and countermarches, with bivouacs in snow and frost, the troops were put into winter quarters in December, the English being disposed in Manheim, Heidelberg, and Frankendal. Essex, who had shared in every service in the field, even to the trailing of a pike, set off for England about Christmas, to press for the promised regiments, which, by the intrigues of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, had been retarded.

He took his way through France, having a convoy of 100 horse to Metz; from thence his own train, about twenty in number, was sufficiently strong. At Gournay sur Aronde, he had an adventure, which we give in Arthur Wilson's words. Having arrived at Compiègne, he sent his horses and most of his train on to Boulogne, riding post himself. " The next stage was " Gournay. When the knavish postmaster, seeing us " likely to be good guests, to keep us there all night, " delayed, or rather refused, us horses, pretending he

[1] A. Wilson.

" could not furnish us till morning; which, being " contrary to my Lord's intention, for he took the " post road to make more haste, not to hinder him, " he was much troubled. And, as we were wrangling " for this coarse entertainment with our host, my " Lord's horses, the gentlemen with them having " mistaken their way, came by."

Essex immediately mounted his own horses to go the next stage, on which, " the innkeeper, deceived of " his prey, fell to raging and railing; which my Lord " not brooking (for his words were very provoking), " ran after him with a cudgel to give him a parting " blow. The innkeeper's activity carried him to a " garret, where, thrusting his head out at a window, " he cried, Murder! Murder! with a fury, not thinking " there were three stories betwixt him and his danger. " It seems it was enough; for before we were got " twelve score (paces ?) in the street, we found our- " selves barricadoed with carts, and encircled with " 500 people; men, women, and children, with pitch- " forks, swords, and guns, smiths with iron bars, and " every one with what came to hand, beset us. We " had each a case of pistols, and stood closely on our " guard."

Great noise and confusion ensued, nobody knowing for what. No injury was done on either side; " but " we were very sensible of some knocks from a little " hill above us, by friars, who filled their laps with " stones, and kindly distributed them among us."

After this scene had continued half an hour, a French Lieutenant of horse came up, and requested

the English to put up their arms, and he would see right done. He inquired into the business, and in a quarter of an hour dismissed the people, and opened the road for Essex and his party to proceed. It should be added that the Lieutenant refused to accept the reward offered him.

On his arrival in England, Essex found that Gondomar had so improved his opportunities, that the King was favourably disposed towards Spain. The intelligence, however, of the complete defeat of the Bohemian army, under Prince Christian of Anhalt, in November, the capture of Prague by the Imperial forces, and the flight of Frederick to Holland, forced James to take steps for the recovery of his son-in-law's hereditary dominions.

In January, 1621, an order in Council appointed a committee or council of war, "to consider and give "their advice, how the service for the recovery and "protection of the Palatinate may best be carried "on."[1] The Earls of Oxford, Essex, and Leicester[2], Viscount Wilmot[3], Lords Danvers and Caulfield[4], Sir Edward Cecil[5], Sir Richard Moryson, Captain John Bingham, with Sir Horace Vere and Sir Edward

[1] S. P. O.

[2] Robert, younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney, was created Earl of Leicester 1618, and died 1626.

[3] Henry, Viscount Wilmot, of Ireland, was created Earl of Rochester 1652. He was father of the celebrated companion of Charles II.

[4] Toby, created, in 1620, Baron Caulfield of Charlemount.

[5] Third son of Thomas, first Earl of Exeter; born 1571, served for many years in the Netherlands, was created Viscount Wimbledon in 1626, and died 1638.

Conway[1], "if they return into England," were appointed its members.

But whatever might be the advice of the Council, the sinews of war were wanting. By a voluntary subscription and a loan, James had been enabled to equip the small force sent over the preceding summer. There were no means, except by the aid of Parliament, of raising the sum necessary to make British interposition efficient, either for action or negotiation. The King at length consented to call a Parliament. His repugnance to this step arose, not from any fear that supplies would be refused in so popular a cause, but because the spirit of liberty was abroad among the people of England; and James dreaded to encounter the daring leaders of the Country party, who, unawed by the threat of royal displeasure, would, he was aware, call loudly for the reform of abuses. But his necessities compelled him to that step, and he hoped, by concession, to soothe the refractory spirits he could not daunt.

[1] He was created, in 1624, Baron Conway of Ragley; his grandson dying *s. p.*, made his cousin Popham Seymour his heir.

CHAPTER XI.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX—*continued.*

PARLIAMENT OF 1621.—ESSEX GOES TO HOLLAND.—PARLIAMENT OF 1624 VOTES SUPPLIES FOR THE PALATINATE.—ESSEX COMMANDS A REGIMENT.—HE IS RECALLED ON THE DEATH OF KING JAMES.—ATTENDS THE PARLIAMENT AT OXFORD.—HE IS APPOINTED VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET UNDER VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON.—EXPEDITION TO CADIZ, 1625.

THE Parliament met on the 30th January, 1621, and, for a time, the course of business seemed to promise a session without disagreement between the King and the Houses. The holders of monopolies by patent were punished, Lord Chancellor Bacon was impeached; but the debates on grievances, on privileges, and on supply, occupied so much time, that the patience of the King became exhausted towards the end of May, and he informed the Houses that he intended to adjourn them. Notwithstanding so much ardour had been expressed to aid their fellow Protestants in the Palatinate, only one subsidy[1] had been voted; and foreign affairs had been almost forgotten, in matters of domestic and personal interest, when, on the 4th June, previous to the adjournment, the Commons, to evince their zeal,

[1] A subsidy was a rate of four shillings in the pound on real property, and two shillings and sixpence on personal estates. It produced about 70,000*l.*

passed a declaration of their "general resolution to "spend their lives and fortunes in the defence of "those of their religion, and of the Palatinate."

There being no hope of obtaining any reinforcement to carry into the Palatinate this summer, and his comrades being then besieged by Spinola in the few towns that yet remained to the Elector, Essex, as soon as Parliament was adjourned, went to serve as a volunteer under Maurice, Prince of Orange, at the "leaguer of Dernick," in Holland.

Parliament reassembled the 20th November, soon after which the Commons sent a petition to the King, remonstrating strongly against the proposed marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Infanta, and praying him to prosecute the war in defence of the Palatinate, to attack Spain, and to marry Charles to a Protestant princess. James sent a reply, forbidding them to meddle in state affairs; they remonstrated; an angry controversy followed, which the King ended by proroguing Parliament on the 19th December, having a few days before sent for the Journals of the House of Commons, and with his own hand torn out an obnoxious resolution.[1]

Although the Court party was strong in the House of Lords in this Parliament, "yet there were "some gallant spirits that aimed at the public

[1] Parliament was dissolved in February following. Some idea may be formed of the diligent attendance which Lord Essex gave to his legislative duties, by the fact that, during these sessions, the House of Lords sat one hundred and ten times, from which Essex was absent but eleven; and that he served on thirteen committees, and in two conferences with the Commons.

"liberty, more than their own interest." The leaders of this party were the Earls of Oxford, Southampton, Essex, Warwick[1], Lords Say[2], Spencer[3], and others.

"Essex," writes the historian[4], who having spent many years in his service, knew him well, "had ever "an honest heart, and though nature had not given "him eloquence, he had a strong reason that did "express him better. His countenance, to those "that knew him not, appeared somewhat stern and "solemn; to intimates, affable and gentle; to the "females, obligingly courteous; and though unfor- "tunate in some, yet highly respected of most, "happily to vindicate the virtue of the sex. The "King never affected him, whether from the bent "of his natural inclination to effeminate faces, or "whether from that instinct or secret prediction that

[1] Richard, Earl of Warwick, so created; eldest son of Penelope Devereux. "Though he had all those excellent endowments of body and fortune that give splendour to a glorious Court, he used it but for his recreation; his spirit aimed at more public adventures, planting colonies in the western world, rather than himself in the King's favor."—*Life of James I.*, Wilson, p. 736.

[2] William, eighth lord, created Viscount Say and Sele, 1624. "A seriously subtle piece, averse to the Court ways, something out of pertinaciousness. When the humor was a little allayed by Court favors, it appeared afterwards that those stern comportments, supposed natural, might be mitigated."—Ibid.

[3] Created, 1603, Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, a great agriculturist. He was saying something in this session respecting what their "great ancestors" did, which displeased the Earl of Arundel, a man of arrogant and imperious character, who cut him short, saying, "My Lord, when the things you speak of were doing, your ancestors were keeping sheep." Spencer instantly retorted, "When my ancestors, as you say, were keeping sheep, yours were plotting treason."—Ibid.

[4] Wilson, p. 736.

"divine fate often imprints in the apprehension, "whereby he did foresee in him, as it were, a hand "raised up against his posterity, may be a notation, "not a determination; but the King never liked "him, nor could he close with the Court."

The Country party in the Upper House did not separate without letting the King know that they were not pleased with his conduct. A great many Scotch and Irish Earls and Viscounts had been created by James, to the profit of himself and his favourites. The ancient Barons of England were greatly discontented at precedence over themselves being thus gained; and this grievance was made the ground of a petition to the King, signed by thirty-three Earls and Barons of England. This petition they refused to deliver to the Council, or to the Prince of Wales, unless he would say he did not receive it as a councillor; on which the King sent for Lord Oxford, and asked him for it. Oxford, according to previous agreement, said that he had it not; others made the same reply; and at length the King was told, that they were resolved not to deliver the petition, unless they were all admitted together; on which James, in great anger, sent them away, saying he would go to Parliament himself, and bring them all to the bar. He ultimately gave audience to the whole of the petitioners, when he made use of this remarkable expression to Essex: "I fear thee not, Essex, if thou wert as "well beloved as thy father, and hadst 40,000 men "at thy heels."

James endeavoured to revenge himself on the most conspicuous members of both Houses after the dissolution. Oxford was committed to the Tower, Southampton to the charge of the Dean of Westminster. Of the Commons, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philipps, Mr. Pym, and some others, were imprisoned; Sir Dudley Digges, and other smaller offenders, were sent into Ireland.

The summers of 1622 and 1623, were passed by Essex in Holland, where he served as a volunteer under Prince Maurice, and gained considerable distinction and reputation as a gallant soldier.

His winters were spent in England, either at Drayton, at Chartley, or at some of the Earl of Hertford's houses. Their sports during this season were, hunting abroad; at home, chess or catastrophe. Sometimes they had masques, or plays, especially at Drayton; old Lady Leicester, being partial to those amusements, often adorned her hospitality with them.

Essex was an excellent horseman, and rode hard, often riding eighty or a hundred miles a day. Wilson relates an amusing adventure they once had during a journey from Drayton to Tottenham, accompanied by Lord Cromwell.[1] They dined at Warwick; "Cromwell had a constitution that he "could not settle his stomach, till he had enough to "overlay his head;" and as soon as they were off the stones of Warwick, he "put to it with such a

[1] Thomas, fourth lord.

"fury," that on coming to the bridge at Barford, where the waters were out, he had great difficulty in making his way through, while Wilson, whose horse, "a fiery nag," had run away, "floundered "into the midst," and was parted from his rider. Essex pulled up and went quietly through. Having overcome this difficulty, they rode for some miles as fast as their horses "could ply it;" when Cromwell's horse, he being a heavy man, was scarce able to trot. On this, Essex, leaving his retainer to take care of his friend, rode alone for Barford, whither his train and coach had preceded him.

The time of year was about Michaelmas, and before Wilson and his charge got to Stow-in-the-Wold, darkness had come on. Here they had proposed to halt; but meeting the Sheriff of Gloucestershire, who was as "well warmed" as himself, Cromwell began to quarrel with him, and Wilson, to separate them, persuaded his drunken Lordship to go on to Barford. Cromwell was as obstinate as he was quarrelsome, and as soon as they got on the downs, insisted on taking his own way. Wilson was obliged to follow him; and after three hours' riding, they found themselves within two miles of the place they had started from, and returned to Stow about ten at night.

In 1623, Prince Charles took his celebrated journey into Spain, accompanied by Buckingham, who made himself odious to the Spaniards, insulted Olivarez, and then successfully exerted his influence in breaking off the marriage treaty,—a strong proof of his un-

limited power over James, as the Spanish match had been for years the object of his wishes; with the two millions of dower, he had expected to relieve himself from his embarrassments, and the breaking it off was almost certain to produce a rupture with Spain. By an untrue statement of the circumstances in Parliament, by advocating a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, and by allying himself to the Country party, Buckingham became, for the time, a popular favourite; while James, weary of his tyranny, was revolving the means of freeing himself, which led to his renewed communication with Somerset.

During the negotiations with Spain, the Imperial armies had not been idle. Heidelberg and Manheim had fallen, and now Frankendal, the last fortress remaining to the Elector, was taken by the enemy. To succour that Prince, had, therefore, become a task of great difficulty, being nothing less than to reconquer the country.

The Parliament that met on the 19th February, 1624, immediately voted three subsidies, and three fifteenths, about 300,000*l*., for that purpose. Four regiments of 1500 men each were equipped, and sent into Holland under the command of the Earls of Oxford, Essex, Southampton, and Lord Willoughby.[1] Mr. Locke writes to Sir D. Carleton[2], "There is a "great struggle for the fourth colonel's place. The

[1] Robert Bertie, created by Charles I. Earl of Lindsey, 1626, hereditary Great Chamberlain and Lord High Admiral of England. He received a mortal wound at Edgehill, 23rd Oct. 1642.

[2] 24th May, S. P. O.

"'King at dinner, yesterday, asked if men were mad " to go into the Low Countries. The Prince hath " the naming of all the captains."

A dispute arose between Oxford and Southampton, which was to have precedence; the first claiming it for the antiquity of his earldom, his high hereditary office of Lord Great Chamberlain, and his rank of Admiral at sea; the other, as having been General of the Horse in Ireland. The Council of War recommended, and it was ordered by the King on the 21st July, that in "all civil and courtly passages" Oxford should have precedence; and that in respect of his former command, Southampton should lead "in all " martial and military passages."[1]

These troops joined the army under Prince Maurice, who, notwithstanding this great reinforcement, suffered Spinola to invest the important town of Breda without hindrance, and failed in an attempt to surprise Antwerp. The summer was wasted; and on the troops going into winter quarters at Rozendaal, Maurice went to the Hague, and dying in the following spring, was succeeded in his command by his brother, Prince Henry. The English troops suffered greatly from fever during the winter; Southampton[2] and his son, Lord Wriothesley, were among its victims.

Prince Henry proved as much too rash as his

[1] S. P. O.

[2] He was succeeded by his second son, Thomas, afterwards Lord Treasurer, the friend of Clarendon, and father of the virtuous and heroic Rachel, Lady Russell.

brother had been over cautious, and was worsted in an assault on Spinola's works. The Earl of Oxford, who led the van, although not wounded, was so overheated and fatigued, that, being a corpulent man, he presently fell sick and died.

This was not the only misfortune that befel the English troops. In the autumn of 1624, Count Mansfeldt[1] had come over to England to obtain assistance, in men and money, for the service of the Palatine. He was promised 20,000*l.* a month, and 12,000 men were raised by press. Of these recruits Mr. Chamberlain writes to Sir D. Carleton[2]: "Our "soldiers are marching on all sides to Dover; God "send them good shipping and good success. But "such a rabble of raw and poor rascals have not "lately been seen, and go so unwillingly, they must "rather be driven than led. You may guess how "base we are grown, when one that was prest hung "himself for fear or curst heart; another ran into "the Thames, and after much debating with the "constable and officers, when he could not be dis-"missed, drowned himself. Another cut off all his "fingers of one hand; and another put out his own

[1] This brilliant adventurer was a natural son of Count Peter Mansfeldt. He was born in 1585, and learned the art of war in Hungary; but, discontented with the slowness of his promotion, deserted the Imperial service, and engaged against Spain under the Duke of Savoy. He afterwards embraced the reformed religion, was chosen general by the insurgents of Bohemia, and forced the Imperial armies to evacuate that country. He next, while under the ban of the Empire, and with a price on his head, defended the Lower Palatinate. After many alternations of fortune, he died at a little town in Bosnia, in 1626.

[2] S. P. O., 18th December, 1624.

"eyes with salt." The excesses committed at Dover were so great, that many soldiers were summarily executed; on which ground, when the fleet arrived at Calais, the permission to land, and march thence, which had been promised, was withheld. They then sailed for Zealand, and after some delay proceeded to Gertruydenberg, in Brabant. Here they were not suffered to land; a pestilential disease broke out in the crowded shipping, so fatal in its attacks, that the air was tainted with the multitude of putrefying bodies, which were thrown overboard, and cast on shore; and of the 12,000 men that embarked with Mansfeldt at Dover, he landed a bare moiety, and those in so debilitated a condition, that he was reduced to act entirely on the defensive.

On the 27th March, 1625, King James I. died at Theobalds. There is a letter in the State Paper Office, from Secretary Conway to the Earl of Essex, dated the 29th June, inviting him to England to take command of a regiment. It seems probable that an attempt was made, under the new reign, to attach Essex to the Court party. Events will show how completely this failed; but, in obedience to the summons, the Earl came over in July, and, landing at Margate, waited at Dartford, while Wilson proceeded to London to see if it were safe to go to that city, where the plague was raging, and where he found "nothing but death and horror,—the very air "putrefied with the contagion of the dead."

The Court was at Oatlands, whither Essex proceeded, and accompanied the King to Oxford, where

Parliament reassembled on the 1st August, having been adjourned from Westminster in consequence of the alarming increase of the plague. After ten days of angry debate, Charles dissolved the Parliament on the 12th August, 1625, to save Buckingham from impeachment, the supplies not having been voted.

As that favourite was resolved on striking a blow at Spain, to avenge his wounded vanity, the equipment of a fleet and army proceeded at Plymouth, and the King, to obtain the necessary funds, raised money by loan, by benevolences, by writs of Privy Seal, by suspending payment of salaries, and even by levying duties under a bill which had not passed through the House of Lords.

The command of the expedition was given to Viscount Wimbledon, the Earl of Essex was Vice Admiral, the Earl of Denbigh[1], Rear Admiral. The force consisted of 10,000 troops, embarked in a fleet of 87 sail of English, and a squadron of Dutch ships.[2]

Wilson says that Essex was at Tottenham, the Earl of Hertford's seat in Wiltshire, when he was sent for to go this voyage; not out of any regard the King had for him, "but being a man beloved of the "people, and the people not liking the Duke's exor- "bitant power in thrusting the King on this war, "which tended only to revenge his private injuries, "the Earl was put in to sweeten the business."[3]

[1] William Fielding, created Earl of Denbigh, 1622. He was killed in action on the side of the King, 1643.

[2] A. Wilson says 120 ships in all.

[3] Desid. Cur. 467.

The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 8th October, with a fair wind, which, however, after a few days, changed to N.N.W., and increased to a gale in which every ship suffered greatly; one vessel foundered with nearly 200 soldiers, and "all the long boats were "towed to pieces." On the 22nd, being in sight of Cadiz, a council of war was held, at which it was resolved that the Earl of Essex should first enter the bay with his squadron, and take up a position to cover the landing of the troops at Port St. Mary's.

The wind was S.W., the weather fine and clear, and about 2 P.M. Essex got into the road, where there were lying 14 ships under the Admiral of Naples, and 12 galleys before Port St. Mary's. They opened their fire before the English were within range. "But the Earl, contemning a fight with them at "coward's distance, sailed between the ships and the "galleys, that he might bestow his shot on both sides;" and opened his fire with such effect, that, one of the galleys being sunk, the rest made off up the river, while the ships cut their cables, and sought protection in the narrow channel leading to Puerto Real. Essex, though badly supported, Lord Valentia[1] and Sir John Chudleigh alone keeping him company, chased them into three fathoms water, when, his ship drawing 15½ feet, and the ebb making, he was forced to anchor.

Count William of Nassau was sent with some English colliers to batter Fort Puntal; but the next

[1] Francis Annesley. He was created Viscount Valentia in 1621, and died 1660. He was Master of the Ordnance in this expedition.

morning, at daybreak, he went on board the Swiftsure, Essex's ship, to complain that he was not supported, on which the Earl proceeded to his assistance. The Swiftsure "letting fall her anchor abreast of the fort, "and bringing up her stern with a warp," continued battering till 4 P. M., when all the guns of the fort, save one, were dismounted.

Sir John Burroughs was landed with 1000 men, to whom the fort was surrendered on terms; the garrison "marching out with colors flying, match in "lock, and bullets in their mouths. When the "Commandant came out, he asked what man of "quality was in the Swiftsure; whereupon he was "asked, if he knew who had taken Cales before. He "answered: Yes, he did know, it was the Earl of "Essex. On which he was told, the Earl of Essex, "his son, is in that ship. 'Then,' said he, 'I think the "devil is there also;' but desired he might have the "honor to go aboard to see the Earl and the ship, "which he obtained."[1]

On the 24th, Lord Wimbledon landed the chief part of the army, and, accompanied by the Earl of Essex, marched towards Ponte Suazo. Provisions were forgotten; the troops, wearied and in want of food, were halted for the night about three miles short of the bridge, in a place surrounded by storehouses filled with wine, which the soldiers broke open, and a scene of the utmost disorder ensued.

The next day Lord Wimbledon and his army

[1] From a document in S. P. O., which appears to be the diary of the master of the Swiftsure.

countermarched to Cadiz, on approaching which town a halt was called, while the General reconnoitred the place, and decided that it was useless to attack it. He then marched back again towards the bridge to capture a few long boats, after which brilliant exploit the army re-embarked; the fleet sailed on the 29th October, and after cruising in the track of the homeward-bound fleet from the Indies until the 17th November, returned to England.[1]

Charles, who had anticipated a result both glorious and profitable, was filled with anger and grief at the disgraceful end of this expensive expedition. Inquiry was made into the cause of failure. The Earl of Essex, Lords Valentia and Cromwell, with seven other Colonels, presented charges[2] against the General at the council table, from which we learn the inefficiency of Lord Wimbledon as a commander. These charges were in substance as follows: that being urged to attack the shipping that had gone to Puerto Real, Lord Wimbledon replied, that "he would not "hunt two hares at once." When the army was ordered to land, he gave no directions about their victuals, which being in the charge of the pursers, the land officers had no power to obtain. And when reminded of this omission after landing, he gave instant order to march, saying, "that was not the time to "speak of victuals, the want of which must not make "men cowards." He left no guard to secure his

[1] Lord Essex landed at Falmouth, the 5th December.

[2] These charges, and Lord Wimbledon's reply, with a journal of the voyage, are in Harl. MSS. xxxvii. 3638. 6807.

communication with Fort Puntal, which might easily have been cut off by a sortie from Cadiz. Lord De la Warr[1] pointed out this omission. When he resolved to bivouac among the wine stores, he gave one butt of wine to each regiment, and omitted the smallest precaution against the men obtaining access to the rest; and did not even place a single outpost or sentry, or give a watchword. Lord Essex says, that at a late hour he went to the General to represent this state of things, who left every thing to his direction and discretion, giving as a watchword, "Heaven bless us;" and that he contrived to place a few guards, but was certain that such was the state of drunkenness and disorder, that 500 Spaniards might have destroyed the whole army.

After a long inquiry, the matter was suffered to die away in silence. Essex, who on his arrival went to Hampton Court, where the King was residing, "staid not long, for it was a sphere he loved not to "move in;" but retired to Chartley until the meeting of the new Parliament on the 6th February, 1626, which he attended with the same diligence as before, having absented himself but four times during seventy-nine sittings of the House.

On the dissolution of this Parliament, he was offered the command of Vice-Admiral in the fleet which was assembling at Portsmouth. The reason for his declining to accept the appointment is given in a published letter.[2] "My Lord of Essex came to

[1] Henry, fourth lord, born 1603, died 1628.
[2] Court and Times of Charles I., vol. i. p. 126.

" the King for leave to go to his charge in the Low " Countries. Before, the Duke had offered him the " Vice Admiralship, but he refused. The King asked " him why he would not accept it; who answered, he " would have accepted a far meaner office to His " Majesty's service, if His Majesty himself had offered " it; but to receive it from another he thought not " so fit, as for other reasons, so especially because he " knew not His Majesty's pleasure. Whereupon, the " King, displeased, bade him go whither he would, " and come again when he sent for him."

By a subsequent letter in the same correspondence, we are informed that the Earl returned from the Low Countries in November; the four regiments there, which were greatly reduced in number, being sent to join the King of Denmark, under the command of General Morgan.

Essex retired to Chartley, where he remained until the assembling of a new Parliament, in 1628, called him out of retirement.

CHAPTER XII.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

PARLIAMENT OF 1628.—EARL OF ESSEX MARRIES MISS ELIZABETH PAULET.—ARMY SENT AGAINST THE SCOTS COVENANTERS, 1639, OF WHICH ESSEX IS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.—HIS PROCEEDINGS.—HE IS UNCEREMONIOUSLY DISMISSED AFTER THE TREATY.—PARLIAMENT CALLED IN 1640.—THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS INVADE ENGLAND IN 1641.—ESSEX AND OTHERS PETITION THE KING FOR A PARLIAMENT.—COUNCIL OF PEERS AT YORK.—COMMISSIONERS MEET AT RIPON.

THE reader of English history is well aware how Charles I. commenced his ill-advised course, by infringing the personal privileges of both Houses of Parliament; how all his subsequent proceedings evinced an arbitrary temper, and impatience of control, with an entire want of sincerity, and stability of purpose; how solemn promises made under pressure, were deliberately broken when the pressure was removed, and obnoxious and irritating measures were adopted only to be relinquished. The Parliament, on the other hand, showed the strongest determination to vindicate their own privileges, and the rights and liberties of the people; and as they pursued their object coolly, but keenly and unswervingly, every false step, and every ebullition of temper on the part of the King, only added to their strength.

The Parliament of 1628 lasted but three months,

from 26th March to 23rd June; but in that short session, the second great charter of English liberty, the Petition of Right, was passed. Had Charles faithfully adhered to the assent he gave to that bill, he might have reigned in the hearts as over the persons of his subjects; while, by his actual conduct, he not only excited sentiments of disaffection and dislike to his person, but lost that respect which men feel for constancy of purpose and resolute conduct, even when directed against themselves.

After the dissolution of the third Parliament of Charles I., that monarch won over to his party several of the most eminent among the leaders of the Opposition. The Earl of Essex was not of the number, and during the years of misgovernment which followed, he lived in retirement. Yet was this period an eventful one for him; he was tempted once more to try his fortune in the matrimonial lottery, and unhappily with not much better success than on the former occasion.

He passed the winter of 1629–30 at Tottenham, the seat of his brother-in-law, Lord Hertford. Among the visitors came Miss Elizabeth Paulet, daughter of Sir William Paulet, of Edington, "a young gentle-" woman of a most sweet and bewitching countenance, " and affable and gentle conversation." Such fair company being acceptable at festival times, Lady Hertford invited her to stay all Christmas, and, in Lent, she became Countess of Essex.

Arthur Wilson plainly accuses her of adultery; but, as he admits that by his jealousy of her influence,

and "the cloudy and discontented countenance" which he showed, that he gave her cause of offence, and in consequence quitted the service of Lord Essex, I shall give the lady the full benefit of a more minute, though, perhaps, partial account, which has been left by her second husband.

Sir Thomas Higgons says, that "after the marriage "of Lord Essex, his servants finding they no longer "had the same liberty, conceived a dislike to the "Countess." Sir Walter Devereux[1] also entertained a mortal aversion to her, and Sir Thomas charges them with conspiracy. He states that, at a late hour one night, when Essex was in the country, they took advantage of Mr. Uvedale being in Lady Essex's apartments to visit one of her sisters, broke in, and although her sister and one of her maids were with her, accused her of adultery with Uvedale. They sent off instantly to Essex, intercepting a letter which Lady Essex also wrote to him. Lord Essex, who was credulous and jealous, and had, from the conduct of his first wife, conceived a prejudice against women, was induced to believe the tale. When Lady Essex heard this, she refused to see or write to him again.

Lady Essex was, however, with child, a circumstance which produced great irresolution in the mind of her husband; he at length said, that if the child was born by the 5th November, he would own it for his. Curiously enough, and most unsatisfactorily

[1] Sir Walter was heir to the Viscountcy of Hereford, should his cousin die without male issue, and may therefore be supposed to have entertained "a mortal aversion" to Essex's second marriage.

for a man who entertained such suspicions, the child was born on that very day[1]; and it appears that Essex remained in the conviction that Lady Essex had been unfaithful. A letter of 30th March, 1636[2], informs us, that articles of separation were in negotiation, by which she was to receive 1300*l.* a-year for life, on condition that she gave up her jointure and thirds; undertook never to complain or sue for alimony; disclaimed all title to the Earl's personal estate; and never sought to cohabit again with her husband. An article had been inserted, that if ever "she had any child by my Lord," she was to forfeit the 1300*l.* a-year. It was so "set "down for the more honor; because, if so be she "should have any children, whosoever got them, yet "my Lord must father them by the law. This "article the Countess did utterly dislike, and there-"fore my Lord was contented to desert it."

On the 26th December, 1636, Lady Leicester[3] writes from Penshurst to her husband:—"I forgot "to tell you last week, that my Lord of Essex's son "was dead."

Lady Essex continued to reside in Essex House until the commencement of the civil war, when she retired to Oxford, at which place she became acquainted with Sir Thomas Higgons, whom she subsequently married.

[1] From the funeral oration spoken by Sir T. H. at the burial of the Countess, Add. MSS. 5830. f. 122.

[2] Court and Times of Charles I., vol. ii. p. 240.

[3] Sidney Mem. ii. 454. Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and Lady Dorothy Devereux, married Robert, second Earl of Leicester.

It appears from two letters in the Earl of Strafford's State Papers, in which that nobleman and Essex exchange words of formal courtesy, that in 1634, the latter passed some time at his estates in Monaghan, which had, during thirty years of quiet, vastly increased in value.[1]

When, on the levy of ship-money, in 1635, a great fleet was fitted out professedly to maintain the dominion of the English flag in the narrow seas, the Earl of Essex was nominated to the command of one squadron of twenty sail, as Vice Admiral, under the Earl of Lindsey.

In November, the King's nephews, Charles and Rupert, sons of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, visited England. On the return of the former to the Continent, in March, 1637, the Countess of Leicester writes to her husband:—"The Elector's going from "hence to Holland is expected within these few days. "He desires much to have my Lord Goring go with "him, but the King declines it; and he presses much "to have my Lord of Essex with him the sea voyage, "but that has been also refused; yet, I hear, he will "again move for that great happiness."[2]

The celebrated plan of the Earl of Strafford, known by the name of Thorough, which was to make Charles an absolute monarch, was defeated by the King himself, who persisted in forcing on his Scottish subjects

[1] It is stated by E. P. Shirley, Esq., in his Account of the Territory of Farney, privately printed in 1845, that in the year 1618, that barony had more than trebled in value; while the rent payable by Lord Essex to the Crown, was doubled on the regrant of those lands to him in 1621.

[2] Sidney Mem. ii. 450.

a liturgy and book of canons. The anti-episcopal party in Scotland organised a determined opposition, which they called a Covenant, and which, from that time, gave a name to the party. Charles resolved to suppress the Covenant by force, and, to blind the Scottish leaders while preparing his army, made several concessions; a useless piece of insincerity, for there were persons about him who imparted to the Covenanters the real intentions of the King.

In pursuance of this resolution, an army of about 6000 foot, and an equal number of horse, was raised in the spring of 1639. The command of this army was given to the Earl of Arundel, of whom Clarendon says, "He had nothing martial about him but his "presence and his looks, and therefore was thought "to be made choice of for his negative qualities." Those who are familiar with the portrait of Lord Arundel at Warwick Castle, must acknowledge that his appearance is as fierce as could be desired in a general.

The Earl of Essex was made Lieutenant-General; the same author calls him "the most popular man in "the kingdom, and the darling of the sword-men; "who, between a hatred and contempt of the Scots, "had nothing like an affection for any man of the "nation; and, therefore, was so well pleased with "his promotion, that he began to love the King the "better for conferring it upon him, and entered "upon the province with great fidelity and alacrity, "and was capable from that hour of any impression "the King would have fixed upon him." We shall

find in the sequel another example of Charles's want of judgment, in the slight he put upon his most popular subject.

To the Earl of Holland was given the command of the cavalry.

The Marquis of Hamilton was sent with 3000 men and a fleet to annoy the coasts of his country.

On the 20th March, the Earl of Essex received instructions to proceed to the North, to direct the Vice-President to call out the forces of Yorkshire and Durham, and with them to proceed with all diligence to Newcastle, where Sir Jacob Astley would meet him, with whom he was to arrange for the reinforcing and provisioning of Berwick and Carlisle. Should the Scots make any movement towards the Border, he was to assemble all the forces of the northern counties, and act as he should think most conducive to the safety and security of the kingdom.[1]

On receiving his instructions, the Earl quitted London for the North, arrived at York at 10 P.M. on the 22nd, and thence, after consultation with the Vice-President of the North, proceeded to Newcastle, at which town he was joined by Sir Jacob Astley. He was met daily by persons of quality out of Scotland, who, by false reports of the strength of the Scottish army, and their proximity to Berwick, sought to delay his advance. The only effect produced by the reports and advice of these persons, was to cause him to press forward more rapidly, so

[1] S. P. O.

that he reached Berwick sooner than he had purposed, and marched into that town without opposition on the 1st April. "And," writes Secretary Coke, who accompanied the King, to Secretary Windebank in London, "that noble Earl, by his resolution, "good conduct, and celerity, hath both done this "good service to His Majesty, and won himself much "honor, and gotten the soldiers' hearts."[1]

No. LI.[2]

Essex to Sir F. Windebank.

Sir,—I thought it my duty to acquaint you how far I have proceeded in executing his Maj. commands.

In general meeting with ill horses all the way, I could reach the first night but to Grantham, where I found Sir Will. Ffourd; he told me the race was either the two twentieth or three twentieth at Berwick, and that the Covenanters were gotten between the Marquis Huntly and Aberdeen. Yesterday morning I met with a Scotch gentleman, William Keith, [who] had newly taken post at Newark with the Bishop of St. Andrew's warrant, as I heard after; he told me no such thing performed, only the Earl Hurn's brother had made a match for ten dollars, but was not run, and that no troops were as yet marched towards Aberdeen.

It was ten o'clock at night before I reached this town, there being no post-horses the last stage at Tadcaster, and the Vice-President being out of town hindered me so, that I fear I shall not reach Newcastle to-night. But I have sent to Sir Jacob Astley, if it be no hindrance to the employment, he would meet me at Durham; if not, I will presently be with him.

[1] S. P. O., 2nd April, 1639.

[2] S. P. O.

I spoke this morning with the Vice-President and Sir Arthur Ingram, the rest of the council being gone to the hall. I find by the Vice-President the troops are in good readiness, and is glad to hear of the pay, which fully satisfies him; but he fears whether the train-bands would stir without a month's pay beforehand. Accordingly, it hath been certified us, but no answer as yet, which he thinks would give great content. I assured him in general, the King had taken so great care as that there was a paymaster coming post after me, and that the treasurer is upon the way. Sir, give me leave to say this is a business of great moment, being, if known, a leading case to all other parts. As soon as Sir Jacob Astley and I meet, I shall presume to acquaint his Maj. of our opinions; and what may be done in the performance of my instructions, I hope we shall shortly give good account of. I forgot to tell you the Vice-President thought an answer to that letter would give great content, which was sent from the colonels of the train-bands which he opposed.

Sir, hasting away with a fervent desire to perform my instructions, and my eyes full of dust, pleads for my pardon for my scribbling, but at the best an ill scribe. But if occasion be, I hope to shew I am trained to action [rather] than to a pen, and so being at all times ready to lay my life at his Maj. feet, and am your servant,

York, this 23rd March, 1639. RO. ESSEX.

The King left London on the 27th March, "with a "glorious attendance of nobility and gentry, that "looked more like the pomp and parade of an "Eastern Prince, than the expedition of an English "Monarch." He arrived at York on the 31st, and was shortly after greeted with the news of the occupation of Berwick.

Leaving 2000 men with 8 pieces of artillery in Berwick, Essex returned to York on the 10th April, to receive further instructions from the King. The Earl's proposal to march at once on Edinburgh, which vigorous course would have unquestionably put an end to the war, was negatived, or at least deferred, thereby giving time to the Covenanters to collect their forces; and Essex himself was sent back to Berwick, "with money, orders, men, and all necessaries, except "victual and ordnance, which go by sea, for securing "of that place."[1] He gives the following account of his proceedings.

No. LII.[2]

Essex to Sir F. Windebank.

Noble Sir,—My brother St. Albans[3] acquainting me with earnest business he hath to London, desired me to convey this packet to you, makes me trouble you with a few lines to excuse that letter I sent you from York. I coming thither in two days, and hastening to Newcastle to perform my master's commands, made me not to transcribe my blotted letter, being caused by the coming in of deputy lieutenants and council of York at several times whilst I was making up my despatch; I took two sheets instead of one, and never found it till I had ended my letter. For the letter I wrote of, it came from the Colonels, and although His Maj. in my instructions, did promise pay whilst the trained bands were employed, yet the Vice-President feared they would not

[1] Mr. De Wic to Sir F. Windebank, 13th April, in S. P. O.

[2] S. P. O.

[3] Ulick, fifth Earl of Clanrickarde, second Earl of St. Alban's. His mother was widow of the late Earl of Essex. He was born 1604, and died 1657.

be satisfied, because it was desired a month's pay beforehand; but now I, having the bands of the Bishopric to march hither, hath ended that business. I being disappointed of the monies promised me at Newcastle, and no paymaster coming down, I being put to my shifts, could procure but 2700 men, which made me rather to undertake the performance of it with a few men, than to draw a greater number and not be able to pay them, although I was assured by the Scots in general at Newcastle, and in my first day's march by my Lord Traquair in particular, that Mountrose, with double my number, would take in Berwick a day before I could possibly get thither with my small train of artillery and men; yet, being unwilling to be frighted out of so great a business with words, having given a commission to my Lord Clifford to raise the forces of Cumberland and Westmorland, with the help of the Irish and Western forces for Carlisle, I took the nine Bishopric's companies and four Northumberland that met me half way, to march hither; the particulars whereof I believe before this you have received, since, waiting on his Maj. at York, I am sent back hither until my Lord of Lindsey's coming. I promise you we will not be cozened of the town; and if we should, as I fear it not, it would be sold so dear, the victors shall have no occasion to bray, although all our men and officers know not what discipline means. The Scots hath stopped all comers from us; this town being fed from thence, puts us to a little strait, till we can be provided out of England. But I have stopped all transport of coals into Scotland, which they cannot well want. Sir W. Penemen's regiment is now sent in, so that the garrison consists of 1000 Bishopric, 1000 York, and 30 Northumberland horse. Here are some men of quality now come in town; and if, at their importunity, I trouble your packet, you will pardon your humble servant,

Berwick, this 15th of April. RO. ESSEX.

The orders received by Essex were, that he should make Berwick good against any force the Scots should send, until the King's army were ready, or the Earl of Lindsey, who was appointed Governor of Berwick, should arrive. This was no difficult task, as he met with no enemies "but what are constant to this place, "snow, hail, and violent northern winds."

The King, with the army, did not arrive at Durham until the 1st May. The Covenanters, whose object was to increase the divisions, of whose existence in the royal councils they were well informed, wrote letters to the three Generals. Clarendon says, that they adapted their styles to suit the characters of these noblemen; the letter to the Earl of Essex was written "in a dialect more submiss than to the "others."

No. LIII.[1]

The Covenanters to Essex.

Our most noble Lord, — As in all these great affairs which have been so much noised abroad, of the liberties of our church and state, our chief care hath been to walk warrantably, according to the laws that were still in force for that effect, so we are certainly persuaded that amongst ourselves, there are none that can justly complain of what hath passed. And for those of our countrymen who are now in England, if they be of that number, as they are evil subjects to our gracious sovereign, and worse compatriots to us, so of all the worst guests amongst you, while they endeavour to make the remedy of their evils, and the scape of their deserved punish-

[1] S. P. O.

ments, the beginning of an incurable disease betwixt the two nations to whom this quarrel should in no way extend. If the informations and protestations made by us for this end, and the bond of our covenant sworn to God and man, have not cleared all scruples in the mind of our gracious King hithertill, and of all good subjects with you, it is not our fault, but rather our joint misfortune with you, that there be too many amongst you also in greatest place and credit, whose private bias runs quite wide and contrary to the public good, and who are those wicked ones rising early to poison the public fountains, and to sow the tares of unhappy jealousies and discord betwixt you and us, before the good seed of love and respect to our neighbour nation can take place in your heart. Amongst all the evils of this kind which daily overtake us, next to the present undeserved displeasure of our Prince against us, — which God, in mercy to us, will take off in His own time, — there could nothing be fallen so strange and unexpected to us, as the drawing your forces together upon your border, which, whether to defend yourselves, or to annoy us, and so prepare and gather those clouds which threaten a sore tempest to both, we, for our part, wish they may first perish in the shipwreck who began first to dash the one nation against the other. As for you, my Lord, although your place, person, and quality, the honor and reputation of your former life, may give us some assurance that your Lordship will be wary to begin the quarrel, whereat only enemies to both the nations will rejoice and catch the advantage, yet give us leave to admire those groundless fears that make you thus strengthen your borders, or rather suspect those pregnant presumptions of a further project intended against this nation by your power, which needs must make us bestir ourselves betimes at all hands for our safety. God is our witness, that we desire no national quarrel to arise betwixt us, or to taste of that bitter fruit, which may set

both our and your children's teeth upon edge; but rather hold ourselves obliged, in conscience of our duty to God, our Prince, and all your nation, our brethren, to try all just and lawful means for the removal of all causes of difference betwixt two nations who are yet linked together, and should be still in all the strongest bands of affection and common interest; and to be always ready to offer the occasion of greater satisfaction in this kind, of clearing our loyal intentions towards our Prince, to all whom it may concern, and namely to your L., in regard of your place and command at this time, by any means whatsoever should be thought expedient on both sides. Thus far we thought good to represent unto your L., being occasionally together, so few of us as are in this place, for ourselves, and in name of the rest of our number, who, together with us, will expect your L. answer, and rest your L.'s affectionate friends to serve you,

ARGYLE.	ROTHES.	MONTROIS.
CASSILES.	LINDESEY.	ERSKYNE.
LOUTHEAN.	ST. CLAIRE.	ELCHO.
WYMES.	BALMERINO.	FORRESTER.
DALHOUSIE.	BURLIE.	

Mr. Norgate, in forwarding a copy of this letter, says, that "one Cuningham who brought it, demanding an answer, my Lord replied, he had no authority to answer their letters, but if they would appear by petition to the King, in such a manner as became them, he would be ready to do them the offices of a gentleman of honor."[1]

On the 9th May, the royal army reached Newcastle. "The Earl of Arundel, Lord General, rode at their head, gallantly mounted and vested *à la soldado*,

[1] S. P. O., 4th May.

"with his scarf and panache." This appears to be the limit of the noble General's military utility. On the 22nd, the King proceeded to Berwick, and formed an entrenched camp in an open piece of ground called the Birks, about two miles west of the town.

Two demonstrations were made against the Scots, who, in number about 3000, ill armed and undisciplined, had advanced under Leslie to Dunse. The Earl of Holland commanded on both occasions, and on both occasions retreated as soon as he came in sight of the Scots, without firing a shot. As he was received by the King, on his return from these inglorious expeditions, with "joy and satisfaction," he cannot be charged with cowardice or disaffection. He either acted under orders, or well knew his master's wishes. The result was, however, that the Scots became more stubborn, while the royal troops were disgusted. Had any serious attack been intended, it is not, indeed, likely that Essex would have been kept in the background. With the exception of that nobleman, every one holding office about the King was desirous of a pacification. He alone positively refused to receive a visit, or hold any communication with the Scots, until peace was concluded.

So desirous was the King to terminate this mock war, and so well were his wishes backed by his courtiers, that on the 18th June, articles were signed. The King gave an amnesty: both armies were to be disbanded, which was immediately done on the part of the English; while the Scots, who had throughout

justified their conduct, retained in pay as many of their officers and men as they thought fit.

"The mischief," says Lord Clarendon, "that befel "the King from this wonderful atonement, cannot be "expressed, nor was it ever discovered what prevailed "over His Majesty to bring it so wofully to pass. All "men were ashamed who had contributed to it; nor "had he dismissed his army with so obliging circum-"stances as was like to incline them to come so "willingly together, if there were occasion to use "their service. The Earl of Essex, who had merited "very well throughout the whole affair, and had "never made a false step in action or in council, was "discharged in the crowd without ordinary cere-"mony; and an accident happening at the same "time, or very soon after, by the death of Lord "Aston, whereby the command of the Forest of "Needwood fell into the King's disposal, which lay "at the very door of his estate, and would infinitely "have gratified him, was denied to him, and be-"stowed upon another; all which wrought very "much upon his rough, proud nature, and made him "susceptible of some impressions afterwards, which "otherwise would not have found such easy admis-"sion." If King Charles had no other talent, he possessed, in an unrivalled degree, that of disobliging those whom it was his interest to conciliate.

The Scots very soon afterwards published a protest against the supposition, that in the late treaty they had given up any of the claims advanced by

the General Assembly, and the treaty was burned by the hands of the common hangman. Charles and his council resolved to raise another army, to do what might have been so easily effected in the spring of 1639, but for the King's weakness and want of resolution.

The late expedition, ineffectual as it proved, had exhausted, and even anticipated, the revenues of the crown. A parliament was therefore called, which met on the 13th April 1540, and was dissolved on the 5th May, because the Commons debated the question whether the consideration of grievances should precede the supply.

By other expedients, Charles contrived to raise a supply, but the delay was fatal. While he was borrowing money, the Covenanters, unanimous and full of enthusiasm, were assembling. When Charles began to collect his army, Leslie, with 26,000 men, was marching towards the Border. On the 20th August he crossed the Tweed, and eight days after passed the Tyne at Newburn.

Clarendon says it was a great pity that Essex had not been appointed General, who, "though his ser-"vices of the last summer had been ill requited, "would have accepted the charge if offered to him, "although he would not be a solicitor; he would "have been sure to discharge his trust with courage "and fidelity, and therefore probably with success."

The Earl of Northumberland, who was appointed, being indisposed, Lord Conway was sent forward

with the troops already prepared, with orders to defend the passage of the Tyne, and though his force was greatly inferior, the fords on that river were so few and deep, that he might certainly have checked the Scots. But with scarcely a blow exchanged, the English army was put to a most disgraceful flight, Conway never showing front again till he reached Durham; from which place Lord Strafford, who took the command, withdrew the troops to the border of Yorkshire, leaving the two northern counties in the hands of the rebels, who were in such distress for want of provisions, that they were deserting by companies, and must have disbanded, had they not effected the passage of the Tyne.

The Scottish leaders then sent a humble petition to the King, who had arrived at York.

On the 28th August, a petition enumerating the grievances of the nation, and praying the King to summon a Parliament as the only remedy for them, was signed by the Earls of Bedford[1], Hertford, Essex, Warwick[2], and Bristol[3], Lords Mulgrave, Say and Sele[4], Howard of Escricke[5], Bolingbroke[6], Mande-

[1] Francis, fourth earl, died 1641. He commenced the drainage of the Bedford Level.

[2] Robert Rich, second earl, died 1658.

[3] John Digby, created Earl of Bristol in 1622. He supported the Country party till 1642, when he joined the King. He died in 1652.

[4] William Fiennes, created Viscount Say and Sele, 1624. He died 1662.

[5] Edward, seventh son of the Earl of Suffolk, was created in 1628; died in 1675.

[6] Oliver, Lord St. John of Bletso, was created Earl of Bolingbroke in 1624; he died 1646.

ville[1], Brooke[2], and Paget.[3] Another petition to the same effect was signed by 10,000 citizens of London. Before he received them, Charles had summoned a great Council of the Peers to meet at York on the 24th September.

In his opening speech to this Council, the King stated, that he had ordered writs to be issued for a Parliament to meet on the 3rd November, and desired their advice on the petition of the Scottish rebels, and on the means whereby the army was to be maintained until supplies could be voted by Parliament.

Commissioners were appointed to meet and treat with other Commissioners from the Scots. To give no umbrage to the latter, the English Commissioners were selected from the Country party, the Earl of Holland, the only one of much interest in the Court, being a determined enemy of the Earl of Strafford.[4]

The Commissioners met at Ripon on the 2nd October. The Scots began by demanding 40,000*l.* a-month for the subsistence of their army, before they

[1] Edward Montagu, eldest son of the Earl of Manchester. He was called up to the House of Peers as Lord Kimbolton, and was accused of high treason at the same time as the five members in 1641. After the Self-denying Ordinance he was Speaker of the House of Lords until the murder of Charles I., from which time he never attended till after the Restoration. He died 1671.

[2] Robert Greville, second lord, was killed at Lichfield when serving under the Parliament, 1643.

[3] William, fifth lord, born 1611. He first joined the Parliament, but at Edgehill fought for the King, and again came over to the Parliament in 1644. He died 1678.

[4] Their names were, the Earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Bristol, Holland, Berkshire, Salisbury, and Warwick; the Lords Mandeville, Paget, Savile, Dunsmore, Howard, Brooke, Paulet, Wharton.

would treat; 850*l.* a-day were agreed upon, but the Scots continued to make difficulties about the security of its payment. On the 26th, a cessation of arms was agreed upon, under conditions strongly demonstrative of the King's weakness, and the discussion of the treaty was transferred to London, on account of the approaching meeting of Parliament.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

THE LONG PARLIAMENT. — EARL OF STRAFFORD'S TRIAL. — ESSEX IS APPOINTED LORD LIEUTENANT OF YORKSHIRE AND LORD CHAMBERLAIN. — THE KING GOES TO SCOTLAND, LEAVING ESSEX LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM, SOUTH OF TRENT. — RETURN OF THE KING. — IMPEACHMENT OF THE FIVE MEMBERS. — CHARLES LEAVES LONDON. — THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN REFUSES TO ATTEND HIM. — HIS DISMISSAL. — ORDINANCE CONCERNING THE MILITIA. — ESSEX LORD LIEUTENANT OF YORKSHIRE, STAFFORDSHIRE, MONTGOMERYSHIRE, SALOP, AND HEREFORDSHIRE. — HIS POSITION AT THIS JUNCTURE.

THE Long Parliament met on the 3rd November, 1640. The position of parties was greatly altered in the short interval that had elapsed since the dissolution of the last. The King had lost power, popularity, and respect. Harassed and alarmed by the spirit which their own acts had so materially helped to call up, he and his councillors were without a plan of defence against the attacks which they saw impending; while the Country party, which at this period numbered in its ranks all the best, and wisest, and moderate men, —Hertford, Southampton, Falkland, Hyde, all of whom, at a later date, attached themselves to the royal cause, —acted with united energy; and the Ultras, backed by the army of "their dear brethren," the Scots, suffered their countenances to relax into a grim smile of anticipated triumph.

Charles, shunning the eyes of his subjects, went privately by water to Westminster, to open the session with a conciliatory speech.

The House of Commons immediately commenced a vigorous attack on the abuses and grievances of which they complained, and on the authors and advisers of the Church and State policy.

On the 11th November, the Earl of Strafford was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords, by Mr. Pym, on behalf of the Commons. Strafford was committed to the custody of the Gentleman Usher, until the charges were brought forward. A committee of Lords, Essex being one, was deputed to acquaint the King with the accusation brought against his prime councillor.

Clarendon says, that Essex had openly declared he would be revenged on Strafford for his rough treatment of the Earl of St. Alban's. Whether he was influenced by this feeling, or acted only in his capacity as a leader of the Country party in the Upper House, I know not; but he took a principal part in all the business preliminary to the trial of that nobleman; moved that no person should be permitted to visit him without leave from the House; was on the committee for examining the evidence; and took part in all the conferences with the Commons.

The Earl's trial commenced the 22nd March, 1641. In the course of the proceedings, his eloquence and temper contrasted so favourably with the violence of his prosecutors, as to gain him many friends; which the former perceiving, retired to their House, and

passed a bill of attainder against Strafford, which was agreed to by the Lords in a very small House, and on the 10th May received the royal assent.

The next day, the House of Lords received that remarkable autograph letter from the King, by the hands of the Prince of Wales, in which he prayed them to allow him to spare Strafford's life. After "serious and sad consideration" of this letter, the House deputed twelve Peers, of whom Essex was one, to signify to His Majesty that neither of the "intentions" expressed in his letter could possibly be advised. They offered some further observation, which Charles interrupted, saying, that what he intended in his letter was with an If; "If it may be "done without discontentment to my people. If "that cannot be, I say again the same that I wrote, "Fiat Justitia." Imprisonment for life was the one "intention;" the other was expressed in the well-known postscript: "If he must die, it were a charity to "reprieve him till Saturday," to give him time to settle his affairs. The Lords replied, that "their "intention was to be suitors to His Majesty, for "favor to be shown to his innocent children, that if "he had made any provision for them, the same "might hold."

Besides this attempt, Lord Clarendon relates his own endeavours to interest Bedford and Essex, the two principal men of that party in the House of Lords, in favour of Strafford, so far as to spare his life, to which the former seemed well disposed; but to all Mr. Hyde's arguments, Essex turned a deaf ear, and

made this reply:—"Stone dead hath no fellow; if he "were judged guilty in a premunire, according to the "precedents cited by him, or fined in any other way, "and sentenced to be imprisoned during life, the "King would presently grant him his pardon and his "estate, release all fines, and give him his liberty as "soon as he had a mind to receive his service, which "would be as soon as the Parliament should be "ended."

The attachment of Strafford was followed by that of Archbishop Laud, of Lord Keeper Finch, and Secretary Windebank, the two last of whom saved themselves by flight.

Ship-money was declared an illegal impost, and the judgments reversed; bills were passed for triennial Parliaments, the abolition of the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, with many other measures, all tending to curtail the prerogative, and establish the authority of Parliament.

Lord Essex, though a leader of his party, was an indifferent speaker; he appears to have been elected to that position on account of his popularity, the general esteem in which he was held, and his great experience in parliamentary business. He was on the committee about Northern business, the Committee of Safety, and of inquiry into the proceedings prior to the treaty of Ripon, besides many others.

On the 8th May, the two Houses sent an address to the King, praying him to appoint the Earl of Essex Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, for that "out of the "confidence and good opinion which the gentlemen

" of that country had of the Earl of Essex, and of his " care for the commonwealth, they will be ready to " serve under him in defence thereof." Here again Charles showed his remarkable talent for turning what might have been a favour into an offence. He deferred his answer to this address, and gave the appointment to Lord Savile[1], a man of infamous character, who on a second address from the Houses, on the 19th, was compelled to resign his new honours, while the King declared his willingness to confer the office upon Essex.

There had been an intention of bringing into office the leaders of the popular party, which was frustrated by the sudden death of the Earl of Bedford in May. In July, however, Hertford, created a Marquis, was appointed Governor to the Prince, Essex, Lord Chamberlain, Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Say and Sele, Master of the Wards. These appointments, with that of Oliver St. John to be Solicitor-General, produced the effect intended by them; and, showing that Charles was willing to select his advisers from among the Constitutional party, the feeling of animosity towards him began to subside.

On the 10th August, the King went to Scotland, leaving the Lord Keeper Littleton, the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain, and the Earl of Essex, Lord

[1] Thomas, second Lord Savile, first Viscount Castlebar in Ireland, was created Earl of Sussex in 1644. He died 1646, and the titles became extinct in his son, 1671.

Chamberlain, Commissioners to give the royal assent to bills during his absence. Essex was likewise appointed the King's Lieutenant, and Captain General of all forces south of Trent.

It was during the absence of Charles in Scotland, that the advancing strides of what Mr. Hallam terms the "spirit of ecclesiastical democracy," alarmed the moderate reformers and the lovers of the Established Church, and produced a schism in the Constitutional party, which was widened by successive events.

We have the testimony of Clarendon, that Essex, although he continued in the ranks of opposition, was yet a zealous member of the English Church: "He "was rather displeased with the Archbishop than "undevoted to the function; towards some of the "less formal prelates he had great reverence; and he "was as much devoted as any man to the Book of "Common Prayer, and obliged all his servants to be "constantly present with him at it; his household "chaplain being always a most conformable man, "and a good scholar."

The feelings which were fostered by the extreme anti-episcopal party, gave rise to acts thus described by a Mr. Wiseman, in a letter to Admiral Sir John Pennington, of the 7th September[1]: "We have had "the most pestilent libels spread abroad against the "Peerage, Lords and Commons of the Parliament, "that they are fearful to be named; and the Brown-"ists and other sectaries make such havoc in our

[1] S. P. O. 1641.

" churches, by pulling down of ancient monuments,
" glass windows, and rails, that their madness is in-
" tolerable. I think it will be thought blasphemy
" shortly to name Jesus Christ, for it is already for-
" bidden to bow at his name; though both Scripture,
" and the practice of the Church of England, do both
" warrant and commend it."

Charles returned to London on the 25th November, and the revival of loyal feelings was strongly marked in the manner of his reception.[1] To check this, a Remonstrance on the state of the nation was carried in the Commons by a small majority in a full House. One effect of this Remonstrance was to rouse the anger of the populace against the Bishops. On the return of the King from Scotland, and the consequent abrogation of Essex's commission, the guard, which by his order had protected the Houses, was dismissed. Mobs of armed men paraded the streets to protect the Parliament, as they termed it; others assembled at Whitehall, to defend the King from any violence. These parties came into frequent collision. Mr. Smith writes to Admiral Sir. J. Pennington on the 29th December[2]: "The Prentices and our
" soldiers have lately had some bickering, wherein
" many of the Prentices were wounded, and lost
" their cloaks and hats; this was done yesterday at
" Whitehall Gate, as the Prentices were coming from

[1] He was feasted with great pomp and solemnity, see May, 88, 89.; who also says the Remonstrance was worded as tenderly as was compatible with the utterance of such disagreeable truths.

[2] S. P. O.

"demanding an answer on their petition lately ex-
" hibited to the Parliament House. The soldiers con-
" tinue in great numbers in Whitehall. These
" wounds of the Prentices have so exasperated them,
" that it is feared they will be at Whitehall this day,
" to the number of 10,000. Neither do the Houses
" and King agree so well as I could wish, the Jesuit-
" ical faction, according to their wonted custom,
" fomenting still jealousies between the King and his
" people, and the Bishops continually concurring
" with the Popish Lords against the passing any
" good Bills sent from the House of Commons
" thither."

The petition alluded to was probably that sent from the City, complaining of the appointment of Colonel Lunsford to be Lieutenant of the Tower, in place of Sir William Balfour.

The Apprentices at this period wore their hair cut round; on the occasion of this riot, one Captain Hyde, drawing his sword in the midst of the mob, cried that he would crop the ears of those round-headed dogs that bawled against the Bishops, and thus originated the name of Roundheads.

On the 3rd January, 1642, Herbert, the Attorney-General, accused Lord Kimbolton, and five members of the House of Commons, Pym, Hampden, Holles, Haslerig, and Strode, of high treason. The next day, irritated at the accused persons being still at large, Charles took the fatal step of going down in person to the House of Commons to demand the

five members.[1] That scene has been so often described, that it need not be repeated here; but from the same letter which contains an account of it, I have extracted an account of the King's going to Guildhall the day after, to endeavour to reconcile the citizens to the violent act of the 4th.[2]

"Yesterday it was my fortune, being in a coach, "to meet the King with a small train, going into "the city; whereupon I followed him to Guild Hall, "where the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council "were met. The King made a speech to them, "declaring his intentions to join with the Parlia- "ment in extirpation of Popery, and all schisms and "sectaries, of redressing of all grievances of the "subject, and his care to preserve the privileges of "Parliament. He had some familiar discourse with "the Aldermen, and invited himself to dinner with "the Sheriff. After a little space, a cry rose up "among the Common Councilmen, 'Parliament! "Privileges of Parliament!' and presently another, "'God bless the King!' These continued a good "while, I know not which was loudest. After some "knocking for silence, the King commanded one to "speak if they had any thing to say. One said, 'It

[1] It is to be remarked, that only the day before the King committed this act, which without strength to enforce his will was one of sheer folly, he had refused the petition of Parliament to be allowed a guard for their protection, under the command of the Earl of Essex, with these words, given on the faith of a king—"that the security of all and every one of them from violence, was and ever should be as much his care, as the preservation of himself and his children."—May, p. 91.

[2] A letter from Captain Slingsby of the 6th January, in S. P. O.

" is the vote of this Court that your Majesty hear the " advice of your Parliament.' Another presently " answered, 'It is not the vote of this Court, it is " your own vote.' The King replied, 'Who is it " that says I do not take the advice of my Parlia- " ment? I do take their advice, and will; but I " must distinguish between the Parliament and " some traitors in it, and those I will bring to legal " trial.' Another bold fellow in the lowest rank, " stood up on a form and cried, 'The Privilege of " Parliament!' Another cried out, 'Observe the man, " apprehend him!' The King mildly replied, 'I " have and will observe the privilege of Parlia- " ment, but no privilege can protect a traitor from " a legal trial;' and so departed. In the outer hall " were a multitude of the rude people, who, as the " King went out, set up a great cry of Privilege of " Parliament."

The House of Commons adjourned till the 11th, appointing a committee to sit daily at Guildhall to consider of the means of vindicating the privileges of Parliament, and of providing for the safety of the kingdom. They did not omit likewise to arrange a triumphal return to the House for the five accused members.

To avoid this humiliating spectacle, and even personal danger from the tumultuous assemblies about Whitehall, Charles quitted London on the 10th January, for Hampton Court, from which place he moved to Windsor, and afterwards to York, where he arrived on the 19th March, accompanied by the

Prince of Wales and Duke of York, the Queen having gone over to Holland with the Princess Mary in February, carrying with her the Crown jewels.

On the 14th January, the Earl of Essex acquainted the House of Lords that the King had commanded himself and the Earl of Holland to attend him at Hampton Court, in their places as Lord Chamberlain and Groom of the Stole; on which it was resolved by the House not to dispense with their presence, which excuse they made to the King for disobeying the order.

On the 28th March, Essex laid before the House the following letter from the King, repeating his former order. Similar letters were likewise sent to Lords Holland, Salisbury, and Savile, which were taken into consideration as matters of great importance, and it was again resolved that these Lords should not go.

No. LIV.[1]

The King to Essex.

CHARLES R.

Right Trusty, and Right Well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, We greet you well. Whereas We are resolved to keep Our Easter and St. George's Feast in this Our city of York; We hold it therefore very requisite and necessary, that for Our honor and service, the chief officers of Our house attend us here in person. Our will and command therefore is, that you repair hither to Our Court as soon as you may conveniently, to give your attendance in the place and charge which you hold under Us, as a Prime Officer of

[1] Lords' Journal, iv. 675.

Our house, and Counsellor of State; wherein, as we doubt not your ready observance of this Our command, so We shall expect your present answer thereunto.

Given at Our Court at York, the 23rd of March, 1642.

This was followed by another more peremptory letter, which was laid before the House by Lord Essex on the 12th April. By this letter it appears, that when the King went to Hampton Court, he had offered to resign his staff rather than quit his parliamentary duties, and that the King refused to accept his resignation. This fact, in some degree, excuses Lord Essex for having, as it were, set up the authority of the House of Lords against that of the King, in respect to an office in the royal household.

No. LV.[1]

The King to Essex.

Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, We greet you well. We are so much unsatisfied with the excuse you made for not obeying Our command, for your attendance on Us here, according to the duty of your place in Our household, that We thought good by these Our letters to second our former command; and that you may be the more inexcusable, We have accompanied Our said command with Our license and dispensation inclosed, for your absence from Parliament, willing and commanding you, all delays and excuses set apart, to attend Us here before the 18th of this month, when We have appointed to keep St. George's Feast. Or, in case you shall persist in your disobedience, We then require and command you to deliver up into the hands of the

[1] Lords' Journal.

Lord Falkland, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, for Our use, the ensigns of your office, which, when We last parted from Whitehall, you offered to resign to Us, rather than you would at that time, as We commanded you, wait on Us so far as Hampton Court; but We did then, of Our grace and favor, wish you to consider of it, in hopes you would, upon further consideration, not have seconded that disobedience.

Given at Our Court at York, April the 9th, 1642.

Not satisfied with preventing these noblemen from giving their personal attendance on the King, the two Houses passed resolutions that the Earls of Essex and Holland did not disobey the King by attending Parliament; that the displacing them was a breach of privilege, an injury to the Parliament and to the whole kingdom; that whosoever accepted those offices should be considered to offer an affront to Parliament; and that such proceedings tended to discourage good men from doing their duty, and to increase the division between the King and his people.

The attempt made by Charles to arrest the five members of the House of Commons who were most obnoxious to him, was retaliated by the most determined attack yet made on the royal prerogative, which was the immediate cause of the civil war. On the 20th January, the House of Lords rejected an address to the King to place the Tower of London, the forts and militia of the kingdom, in such hands as Parliament could trust. Essex entered a protest against this vote, which was signed by thirty-one other Peers.

The Commons, by themselves, then addressed the King. His answer was laid before both Houses, who voted that the advisers of it were malignant, and the Lords declared they would join the Commons in a second address. The Earl of Northampton[1], and Lord Willoughby of Eresby, were sent from the Lords to present it.

The Houses immediately proceeded to pass the ordinance concerning the militia, and to nominate Lords Lieutenants for the several counties. The King refused his assent; Parliament declared that they would dispose of the militia without the King. On the 2nd March, it was resolved, that "the kingdom "be forthwith put into a posture of defence by au- "thority of both Houses," which was protested against by the Earls of Lindsey, Bath[2], Southampton, Northampton, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, and others, in all thirteen Peers. On the 5th March, the two Houses passed the ordinance on their own authority.

As the Parliament may be considered as having, by this act, declared open war against the prerogatives, if not the person, of the King, we will pause for an instant to note the position of the Earl of Essex at this critical juncture, when he was about to fill so important a post as that of General of an army levying war against his Sovereign.

The popularity and influence of the Earl were

[1] Spenser Compton, second Earl of Northampton, died in 1642.

[2] Henry Bourchier, fifth Earl of Bath, died 1654, when the title became extinct.

so highly rated by Lord Clarendon, that he does not hesitate to assert, that if Essex had not consented to be General, the Parliament would have been utterly unable to raise an army. Without giving credence to this assertion in its fullest sense, this much must be conceded, that the person of whose importance such an opinion could be advanced, must have been a most desirable ally to either party; and it might therefore have been expected that the King would conciliate the man whose influence was sufficient to turn the scale in favour of the party he espoused. But in this, as in all other cases, Charles acted with that obstinate ill judgment which was one of his characteristics, and precisely in proportion as the Earl of Essex received caresses and flatteries from the constitutional party, did the King show him coldness and disfavour.

The Parliament nominated Lord Essex Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and Montgomeryshire, to which were afterwards added Shropshire and Herefordshire. As the power of calling the population of the counties to arms was vested in the Lords Lieutenants, these appointments added vastly to his dignity and influence. This power should unquestionably have been exercised under the King; but the party to which Essex attached himself was, at this time, chiefly engaged in destroying the prerogatives of the Crown.

Yet it is beyond a doubt, that between the opinions of Essex himself, and those of Hertford and the other Lords who had joined the King, there was but

a shade of difference; that Essex was no more an advocate for the abolition of royalty and the destruction of the Church of England, than Hertford, Falkland, and Southampton were friendly to the exercise of arbitrary power by the King.

Clarendon says that Essex expressed to his friends a desire that the Parliament should be more moderate, and that "the King, who had given so much, "should receive some satisfaction;" and that he was prevented from making any approach towards the King by reports of hard words Charles was said to have used concerning him at York. In another passage, the same author observes, that Essex, believing he should be General in the Houses as well as in the field, and be able to restrain their passions and govern their councils, as well as to fight their battles, and by these means become the preserver of the King and kingdom, launched into that stormy sea where he found no safe harbour.

Lord Essex might have been influenced by the feelings and expectations here described, which, with our greater experience of revolutions, appear so visionary. Where is to be found the man who can say to the torrent of revolution, Thus far, and no farther, shalt thou go? To oppose it is a vain effort; the man who does so is certain to be overturned, overwhelmed, and lost. Unguided, it rushes impetuously on, uprooting all obstacles, until, its course impeded by the wreck borne on its own bosom, the stream separates into a thousand channels, each of which runs brawling along, powerless and useless.

A skilful leader, while seeming to be carried with the current, may guide and keep it within due bounds, until it settles into a broad, majestic, and beneficial stream.

Rarely may such a leader be found, and certainly Essex was not the man to fill the post. His abilities were not of a commanding order; he was neither a skilful tactician, nor a demagogue; he was a proud, plain-dealing, punctilious man of honour, forced by circumstances to take the lead in a movement of which he did but half approve. The result was, that instead of staying or guiding the torrent, and saving the kingdom, his name, his reputation, and his influence only served as a stepping-stone to those able and unscrupulous men, of iron will and stern enthusiasm, who, in carrying out their passionate declaration of undying hatred to tyranny and bigotry, murdered their lawful sovereign, and in the place of the reverential observances and beautiful prayers of the Church of England, set up a familiar and profane cant.

CHAPTER XIV.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX—*continued.*

PROGRESS OF EVENTS.—ESSEX APPOINTED CAPTAIN GENERAL BY THE PARLIAMENT.—HE IS PROCLAIMED A REBEL BY THE KING.—THE STANDARD RAISED BY THE KING.—PARLIAMENT ARMY ASSEMBLES AT NORTHAMPTON.—ESSEX MARCHES TO WORCESTER.—HIS SPEECH TO THE ARMY.—BATTLE OF EDGEHILL.—SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS.—ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE.—ACTION AT BRENTFORD.—KING CHARLES RETIRES TO OATLANDS, AND OXFORD.—ESSEX ESTABLISHES HEAD QUARTERS AT WINDSOR.

How Lord Essex reconciled his actions and his declaration of loyalty, it is not easy to understand. It is clear that for months past Parliament had been attacking the authority of the King, and had denied him the exercise of his irrefragable rights and prerogatives. In times of intense and growing excitement, such as we are now considering, the minds of men are warped by their passions and prepossessions, and as correspondence ceased or was destroyed, private opinions are no longer laid before us; I would therefore conclude, that the ambition of leading a great party, and of being a principal means in humbling the Sovereign by whom he conceived he had been ill-used, added to the suspicions he entertained of Charles's sincerity, led Lord Essex to adopt a line of conduct which was certainly inconsistent with his professions

of loyalty. It must be remembered that the Royalists evinced, by their extreme reluctance to take arms, by their desire of accommodation, as well as by the character of their most respected leaders, that the cause for which they fought was not so much that of Charles the King, as of the constitution of the country; for the conduct of the leaders of the Parliament could not but raise grave suspicions of their intention to overturn both Church and State.

A brief narration of events will bring us from the virtual declaration of war, by the resolutions of the 2nd March, 1642, to the actual commencement of hostilities.

In April, Sir John Hotham, Governor of Hull, in which town there was a great store of arms, refused to admit the King within its gates; Charles declared him guilty of treason; the Parliament voted that he had only acted in obedience to the Houses, and that to declare him a traitor was a high breach of privilege.

On the 5th May, Parliament ordered those in authority to put in force the Militia Ordinance. The King issued orders to raise a guard for his person, which Parliament voted to be a preparation for war against them, and a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people.

On the 3rd June, Parliament sent the "nineteen "propositions" to the King, as a foundation for ending all differences. These were rejected by Charles as subversive of his regal rights; which, indeed, they were so entirely, that the framers of

them could have had no expectation that the King would entertain them favourably.

On the 10th June, the King issued Commissions of Array; and on the same day, the Lords and Commons at Westminster subscribed money and horses for the public service. Eighteen Peers subscribed 10,300*l.*, and 296 horses; the largest subscribers were, the Earl of Northumberland 2000*l.*, the Earl of Essex and Lord Brooke 1000*l.* and 20 horses each, the Earl of Pembroke 1000*l.* and 40 horses. By horses were meant horse soldiers fully armed. As an instance of the unsettled state of men's minds up to this moment, as to which side they should espouse, it may be mentioned that Lord Paget subscribed ten horses, and the following day left London to join the King.[1]

On the 12th July, after a long debate, it was resolved that an army should be raised; that the Earl of Essex should be their General, with whom they would live and die; and that a petition should be sent to His Majesty, to move him to a good accord with his Parliament, to prevent a civil war.

This petition was answered by the King on the 9th August. He sent a letter to the Speaker of the House of Lords, enclosing "a proclamation for the "suppressing the present rebellion under Robert, "Earl of Essex, and the gracious offer of His "Majesty's free pardon to him, and to all such "of his adherents as, within six days after the date "hereof, will lay down their arms."

[1] From this time the names of Royalists or Cavaliers, and Parliamentarians or Roundheads, came into general use.

This was read in the House on the 11th, when Lord Essex rose and said, that although it had pleased His Majesty to proclaim him a traitor, yet his heart was as true and upright to his King and country as any subject's in England whatever. And as the Lords and Commons had declared that they would assist him, and justify his proceedings as General of the army raised for the present expedition, so he would use his best and most faithful endeavours and skill in the managing and putting in execution the trust they reposed in him, and that neither threats, favours, nor anything else should divert or discourage him from his intentions in the behalf of this cause, though it were at the loss of his dearest blood.[1]

The following day the Houses passed a declaration and resolutions concerning the royal proclamation, from which the following is an extract: "That "whereas the Lords and Commons in Parliament "did formerly choose the Earl of Essex to be "Captain General of such forces as are or shall "be raised for the maintenance and preservation of "the true Protestant religion, the King's person, "the laws of the land, the peace of the kingdom, "the liberty and property of the subject, and the "rights and privileges of Parliament; this House "doth now declare that they will maintain and "adhere to him the said Earl with their lives and "estates in the same cause."

[1] From a tract in the Brit. Mus.

In the beginning of August, Portsmouth, influenced by Colonel Goring, the Governor, declared for the King; a blockade by sea and land was established against the place, and Goring, disappointed in his expectation of being relieved by the Marquis of Hertford, was compelled to capitulate. Hertford, who had been sent with a Commission of Array into the West, had a skirmish with the Earl of Bedford near Sherborne, and on the 24th, another skirmish took place on Dunsmore Heath, Warwickshire, between the forces under the Earl of Northampton, and Lord Brooke.

On the 22nd August the King raised the standard at Nottingham, a ceremony which was considered equivalent to a declaration of war.

On the 15th September, Secretary Nicholas, writing from Derby, informs Sir William Boswell that "the King marched from Nottingham the Tuesday "before—the 13th,—with 500 horse, five regiments "of foot, and twelve pieces of artillery. The trained "bands met him seven miles from Nottingham, "whereof 500 volunteered for the King, and the rest "were disarmed." Charles proceeded to Shrewsbury to recruit his army, almost all the people of those parts being Royalists.

Before leaving Nottingham, Charles made one more effort to negotiate with the Parliament. He sent the Earl of Southampton, Sir John Colepepper, and Sir William Uvedale, with a proposal to the Houses to appoint commissioners on both sides. The Houses refused to treat with a King who had raised his

standard against the Parliament, and had declared their General a traitor.

On the 9th September, the Earl of Essex set out from Essex House to assume the command of the Parliamentarian army.

He was attended with great solemnity to the outskirts of the city by the trained bands, and by many members of both Houses. "But the love and wishes of "the people that did attend him, were far greater than "any outward signification could express; to whom "he seemed at that time, though going to a civil war, "as much an Englishman, and as true a patriot, "as if he had gone against a foreign enemy. Great "was the love and honor which the people in gene-"ral bore to his person, in regard of his own virtue "and honorable demeanor; and much increased by "the memory of his noble father, the highest ex-"ample that ever I yet read, of a favorite both to "Prince and people; of whom that was most true "which Velleius Paterculus speaks with flattery and "falsehood of Sejanus, *In quo cum judicio Principis "certabant studia populi*, the people's love strove to "match the Prince's judgment." [1]

From St. Alban's, where his head quarters were, Lord Essex proceeded to the general rendezvous at Northampton, at which place about 20,000 men assembled.

He was required by his instructions from the Parliament to restrain all impieties and profaneness, and all plundering; to use his utmost endeavours to

[1] May, 162.

rescue His Majesty's person, and the Prince, and the Duke of York, by battle or otherwise, out of the hands of the desperate persons then about them; to present to the King the petition[1] entrusted to him; to offer pardon to all who would withdraw from the King, excepting the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Bristol, Cumberland, Newcastle, Rivers, and Carnarvon, Viscounts Newark and Falkland, and Messrs. Edward Hyde, Endymion Porter, and Secretary Nicholas; to receive contributions; to protect the good people; to apprehend delinquents; and to protect the persons of all His Majesty's loving subjects against violence and rapine by any Cavaliers of the King's pretended army.

A committee of assistance was also appointed, to consist of all members of the two Houses serving in the army; any three, with the General, to form a quorum. They were to consult and advise on all matters respecting the army, borrow money and provisions, apprehend and detain, or discharge, all persons, and to correspond with the Houses.

The army of the Parliament marched to Worcester, placing by the way garrisons in Coventry and Warwick.

There are, in the State Paper Office, some letters in the form of a journal, from one Nehemiah Wharton[2],

[1] The Earl of Dorset wrote to Essex from Wolverhampton on the 16th October, that "His Majesty would not receive any petition by the hands of such as he had, by name, proclaimed traitors;" and Essex being the principal of those persons, the petition was rejected.

[2] Addressed to Mr. George Willingham, Merchant, at the Golden Anchor in St. Swithin's Lane.

a very zealous Roundhead, from which, being the last news-letters I have seen, and written in a most amusing style, I shall extract the account of the opening of the campaign.

On Wednesday the 14th, our forces marched into the field, and the Lord General viewed us, both front, rear, and flanks, when the drums beating and the trumpets sounding, made a harmony delectable to our friends, but terrible to our enemies; and in the even our regiment marched five miles N.E. unto Spratton, where we, and as many as could, billetted in the town; the rest quartered the country. On Thursday, our regiment met again, where those famous laws[1] for our army were read and expounded.

Saturday our regiment met again, and were mustered. This even, Captain Francis returning from London, informed me of the courageousness and constancy of the city of London, and also of their constant supplies of money and plate; and also told me, that the whole city were now either real or constrained Roundheads.

Sabbath day we peaceably enjoyed with Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, who gave us two heavenly sermons.

On Monday, marched through West Haddon, Crick, and Hill Morton, where we had a supply of drink, which upon a march is very rare and extraordinary welcome, and came to Rugby, where we had good quarter. The next day marched two miles to Dunsmore Heath, where the Lord General and his regiment[2] met us, as also the Lord of Stamford, Colonel

[1] Laws and Ordinances of War, by H. E. Robert, Earl of Essex, &c., printed 1643.

[2] Lord Essex had a body-guard of 100 gentlemen, armed as cuirassiers, and commanded by Sir Philip Stapleton. A volume of "Banners of the Parliament Army," Add. MSS. 5247., gives the banner of the Lord General, an orange field with a white border, a label on the field inscribed with the motto, *Basis virtutum constantia*. The gentlemen of the Earl's

Cholmley, and Colonel Hampden, with many troops of horse, and 18 field-pieces, where we had tidings that all the Malignants in Worcestershire, with the Cavaliers, were got into Worcester, whereupon we marched six miles unto Baggington, and the next day (21st) quartered before Warwick, till 40 pieces of ordnance with their carriages, had passed by; in which time I viewed the antiquities about one mile on this side Warwick, as Sir Guy, his cave, his chapel, and his picture in it, and his stables, all hewed out of the main rock, as also his garden, and two springing wells whereat he drank, as is reported. From hence we marched through Warwick in such haste, I could not view the town, but had only a sight of a castle, which is very strong, built upon a mighty rock, whereof there are store in this country. This night we marched two miles farther unto Barford, where our quarter, as constantly it is since his Excellency's coming, was very poor, many of our soldiers having neither beds, bread, nor water, which makes them grieve very strong, for backbiters have been seen to march upon some of them, six on breast, and eight deep at their open order; and I fear I shall be in the same condition ere long, for we can get no carriage for officers, so that my trunk and all necessaries therein, are left at Coventry; and, indeed, our regiment is more slighted than any other, insomuch that I have heard some of our captains repent their coming forth.

Thursday morning we marched in the front four miles towards Worcester, when we met one riding post from Worcester, informing us that our troops and the Cavaliers were then in fight, but it was false, only to haste the captains from Warwick. Upon this report, our whole regiment ran shout-

guard wore an orange scarf across the breast. The cuirassiers or pistoliers were the first rank of horsemen, and being by their place gentlemen, were almost always of good birth and degree. They wore armour down to the knee, and bore a case of pistols, twenty-six inches long, of 36 bore, a firelock, and a sword.—*Meyrick's Anc. Armour*, iii. 102.

ing for two miles together, *To Worcester! To Worcester!* and desired to march all night.

They halted that night at Aston Cantlow, where Nehemiah again complains that he could get neither quarters, bread, nor drink. The following day, Friday, the 23rd September, his regiment marched to within four miles of Worcester, through "such foul "weather, that before I had marched one mile I was "wet to the skin." He consequently arrived too late to be present at the skirmish of that day, in which the Roundheads were defeated. Nehemiah, however, consoles himself with the assurance "that the Lord "hath given them this small victory, that in the day "of battle they may come on more presumptuously "to their own destruction; and though, in that day, "I and many thousands may be cut off, I am con- "fident that the Lord of Hosts will triumph gloriously "over these horses and their cursed riders."

On the representation of Colonel Brown, that officer and Colonel Sandys, with two regiments and five troops of horse[1], were pushed on from Alcester to occupy the passage over the Teme at Powick, about a mile and a half from Worcester, and so cut off Sir John Byron, who occupied that city for the King, from receiving supplies, or retreating in that direc-

[1] The horse soldier of the second degree was called a harquebusier or carbine; this branch was generally composed of yeomen, or the better sort of serving men; they wore armour, with a light head-piece, a "hargobus" three feet three inches long, of No. 20. bore, and a sword. The last sort were called dragoons; they were a kind of footmen on horseback; wore an open head-piece and a buff coat with deep skirts; their arms, a sort of carbine called a dragon, sixteen inches long, of musket bore, and a sword.—*Meyrick's Anc. Armour.*

tion. They took possession of Powick bridge on the evening of Thursday the 22nd, and remained there undisturbed till the following afternoon, when Prince Rupert, who had been sent for by Byron, arrived with a body of 700 horse; "most of the city," writes Nehemiah, "crying, Welcome! Welcome! but princi-
"pally the Mayor, who desired to entertain him; but
"he answered, God damn him, he would not stay,
"but go wash his hands in the blood of the Round-
"heads."

The Prince immediately proceeded towards Powick, where a skirmish ensued, in which, according to the Roundhead version, Colonel Sandys got entangled in a lane, of which the hedges were lined with musquetry; at all events they were completely routed, Colonel Sandys mortally wounded, and the road to Ludlow opened to the Royalists.[1] On the 24th, the Parliament forces entered Worcester, having bivouacked the night before: "where we had small comfort, for it rained
"hard; our food was fruit for those that could get
"it, our drink water, our beds the earth, our
"canopy the clouds; but we pulled up the hedges,
"pales, and gates, and made good fires, his Ex-
"cellency promising us that if the country relieved
"us not the day following, he would fire their towns;
"thus we continued singing of psalms until the
"morning, when we marched into Worcester, the

[1] Lord Falkland, in a letter to the Earl of Cumberland, 30th September, says that 400 Roundheads were killed, taken, or drowned. As he claimed but fifty prisoners, the number is clearly exaggerated. Indeed, little reliance is to be placed on the account of casualties by either party.

"rain continuing the whole day, and the way so "base that we went up to the ankles in thick clay."

Before entering Worcester, the Earl of Essex made the following speech to the army: —

Gentlemen and Fellow-soldiers: Ye are at this time assembled under my command, for the defence of His Majesty and the maintenance of the true Protestant religion; I shall therefore desire you to take notice what I, that am your General, shall, by my honor, promise to perform toward you, and what I shall be forced to expect that you will perform towards me. I do promise, in the sight of Almighty God, that I shall undertake nothing but what shall tend to the advancement of the Protestant religion, the securing of His Majesty's royal person, the maintenance of the just privilege of Parliament, and the liberty and property of the subject; neither will I engage any of you into any danger: but, though for many reasons I might forbear, I will, in my own person, run an equal hazard with you, and either bring you off with honor, or, if God have so decreed, fall with you and willingly become a sacrifice for the preservation of my country.

Likewise I do promise that my ear shall be open to hear the complaint of the poorest of my soldiers, though against the chiefest of my officers; neither shall his greatness, if justly taxed, gain any privilege; but I shall be ready to execute justice against all, from the greatest to the least. Your pay shall be constantly delivered to your commanders, and if default be made by any officer, give me timely notice, and you shall find speedy redress.

This being performed on my part, I shall now declare what is your duty towards me, which I must likewise expect to be carefully performed by you. I shall desire all and every officer to endeavour by love and affable carriage to

command his soldiers, since what is done for fear is done unwillingly, and what is unwillingly attempted can never prosper. Likewise it is my request, that you be careful in the exercising of your men, and bring them to use their arms readily and expertly, and not to busy them in practising the ceremonious forms of military discipline; only let them be well instructed in the necessary rudiments of war, that they may know how to fall on with discretion, and how to retreat with care; how to maintain their order, and make good their ground.

Also I do expect, that all those who have voluntarily engaged themselves in this service, should answer my expectation in the performing of the ensuing articles: — That you willingly and cheerfully obey such as, by your own election, you have made commanders over you. That you take special care to keep your arms at all times fit for service, that upon all occasions you may be ready to repair to your colors when the signal shall be given by the sound of drum or trumpet, and so to march upon any service where and when occasion may require. That you bear yourselves like soldiers, without doing any spoil to the inhabitants of the country; so doing, you shall gain love and friendship, where otherwise you will be hated and complained of, and I that should protect you, shall be forced to punish you according to the severity of the law. That you accept and rest satisfied with such quarters as shall fall to your lot, or be appointed you by your quartermaster. That you shall, if appointed for sentries or perdues, faithfully discharge that duty; for upon fail hereof, you are sure to undergo a very severe censure. You shall forbear to profane the Sabbath, either by being drunk, or by unlawful games; for whosoever shall be found faulty, must not expect to pass unpunished. Whosoever shall be known to neglect the feeding of his horse with proper provender, to the end that his horse be disabled, or

unfit for service; the party for the said default, shall suffer a month's imprisonment, and afterward be cashiered, as unworthy the name of a soldier. That no trooper or other of our soldiers shall suffer his paddee to feed his horse in the corn, or to steal men's hay; but shall pay every man 6*d.* day and night, and for oats 2*s.* the bushel. And lastly, that you avoid cruelty; for it is my desire rather to save the lives of thousands than to kill one, so that it may be done without prejudice.

These things faithfully performed, and the justice of our cause truly considered, let us advance with a religious courage, and willingly adventure our lives in the defence of the King and Parliament.[1]

On the 30th, Wharton writes again:—

Worcestershire is a pleasant, fruitful, and rich country, abounding in corn, woods, pastures, hills, and valleys, every hedge and highway beset with fruit, but especially with pears, whereof they make that pleasant drink called perry, which they sell for a penny a quart, though better than ever you tasted at London. The city is more large than any I have seen since I left London; it abounds in outward things, but for want of the Word the people perish. It is pleasantly seated, exceeding populous, and doubtless very rich, on the east bank of that famous river the Severn, the walls in the form of a triangle, the gates seven. There is a very stately cathedral called St. Mary's, in which there are many stately monuments; amongst the rest, in the middle of the quire, is the monument of King John, all of white marble, with his picture thereon to the life. Sir, our army did little think ever to have seen Worcester, but the providence of God hath brought us hither, and had it not, the city is so vile, the

[1] Parl. Hist. ii. 1476.

country so base, so papistical, and atheistical, and abominable, that it resembles Sodom, and is the very emblem of Gomorrah, and doubtless it would have been worse than either Algiers or Malta, a very den of thieves, and a receptacle and refuge for all the hell-hounds in the country.

From Worcester, Essex sent a detachment under the Earl of Stamford to surprise Hereford, in which Nehemiah Wharton served. He states that they got into Hereford by telling the Mayor that Essex was at hand with all his army.

The city is well situated on the Wye, environed with a strong wall, better than any I have seen before, with five gates, and a strong stone bridge of six arches, surpassing Worcester. In this city there is the stateliest market-place in the kingdom, built with columns after the manner of the Exchange; the Minster every way exceeding Worcester; the city not so large; the inhabitants totally ignorant of the ways of God, and much addicted to drunkenness and other vices, but principally unto swearing, so that the children that have scarce learnt to speak, do universally swear stoutly. Many here speak Welsh. Sabbath day, the time of morning prayer, we went to the Minster, where the pipes played, and the puppets sang so sweetly, that some of our soldiers could not forbear dancing in the holy quire; whereat the Baalists were sore displeased.

Charles had arrived at Shrewsbury on the 20th September, and such was the zeal of the Royalists in those parts, that in three weeks his army had increased in numbers to above 11,000 men. With this force he left Shrewsbury on the 12th October, and marching by Bridgnorth, Wolverhampton, Birming-

ham, Packington, and Kenilworth, reached Southam on the 21st.[1]

In the first week of October, Essex pushed forward his advance to within three miles of Shrewsbury. It is not quite clear that he quitted Worcester himself, as, although the accounts of the skirmish at Bridgnorth generally state that he was present, it seems that the reports he sent to Parliament were dated from Worcester. On the 10th, a letter from the Earl was read in Parliament, in which he stated that he had intelligence that the King meant to divide his army, and leaving one part to keep Essex in play, march with the other straight to London. In consequence of this advice, he had sent reinforcements with artillery to Coventry. On the 13th he had sent a strong force to Bewdley and Kidderminster, and intended to follow with the main body.

Essex did not receive intelligence of the King's march until the 19th, on which day Charles was resting at Packington. With this slight advantage in point of distance, he could scarcely have reached London before Essex; but it was worth the trial, and if successful, the war might perhaps have terminated in the first campaign. His own wishes were probably opposed by a majority of his followers, who not only dreaded any success which might be sufficient to restore the King to power, which, with an army at his command, might become absolute, but there was already in the royal army a schism, which

[1] The dates of the royal movements are throughout this narrative taken from the Iter Carolinum, in Gutch's Coll. Cur.

throughout the war prevented unanimity of feeling and action. The Earl of Lindsey, whose reputation as a soldier was second only to that of Essex, was General of the royal army; but when Prince Rupert received his commission to command the horse, his unwise uncle added to it a clause, which rendered him independent of all authority save the King. Of all the Royalist leaders during the civil war, none exercised so evil an influence on the fortunes of the King as Prince Rupert.

The Earl of Essex instantly left Worcester on learning the direction of the King's march; and so rapid was his advance, that he was compelled to leave behind him the chief part of his artillery, ammunition, and the baggage, with two regiments of foot and one of horse to guard it.

The royal army advanced from Southam to Edgcote, with the intention of reducing Banbury on the 22nd, the same day on which Essex reached Kineton. Intelligence having been conveyed to the King of the vicinity of the rebels, he turned aside to meet them.

On Sunday morning, the 23rd October, 1642, the Lord General, when going to church, was informed that the royal army was in full march upon him. He forthwith drew out his forces, consisting of eleven regiments of foot, forty-two troops of horse, and 700 dragoons, in all about 10,000 men, in the Vale of the Red Horse, between the village of Kineton and Edgehill. It was noon before the van of the royal army appeared on the crest of the hill; and

by the time they had descended and formed in the vale it was two o'clock.

The Parliament army was drawn up in three lines. Three regiments of horse, under Sir William Balfour, covered the right flank, on which were placed the chief part of the field-pieces they had with them; on the left were twenty-four troops of horse under Sir James Ramsay. The Earl of Essex headed the centre on foot, and pike in hand, until he was entreated to take a post more befitting the chief commander of the army.

Like his ancient comrade, the Earl of Lindsey also led his infantry on foot. Prince Rupert commanded the cavalry of the right wing, Lord Wilmot that of the left of the royal army.

The battle was begun by the rebel artillery, which was answered from the other side, and the cannonade continued for above an hour. At the end of that time the Royalists advanced; the impetuous Rupert charged the Parliamentarian left so fiercely that they broke at once. Confusion produced a panic on the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue with his troop of horse, who passed over to the royal side; and the whole left wing of the rebel army took to a precipitate flight, pursued by Rupert and his cavalry, through and beyond Kineton, which village the Prince permitted his men to plunder, and so lost the most precious hour of the day, which, otherwise employed, would have secured a decisive victory to the King: for in the centre an obstinate and still doubtful struggle was going on, in which, though the Earl of

Lindsey was mortally wounded, and, with his son, taken prisoner, and the royal standard was captured, the combat had not taken a decided turn, when Sir William Balfour, by a skilful movement on the flank of the Royalists, took and spiked a battery of guns, dispersed a regiment of foot, and charging the rear of the royal centre, completely discomfited them; they at once broke, and retreated on the reserve, which was about to advance, headed by the King, when Rupert, with his plunderers, reappeared on the scene, but too late to regain the lost advantages. Darkness was drawing on, and friends were fired on being mistaken for foes. After a short space the royal army withdrew, and, reascending the hill, left Essex in possession of the field of battle, on which he remained under arms all night and part of the next day; but the Royalists did not again offer battle, and filing away over Edgehill, were entirely lost to view before evening, when the Parliament army retired to Warwick to recruit and rest.

Thus ended the first battle of the rebellion, which is remarkable only for this, that the loss was nearly equal on either side; that though the Earl of Essex remained master of the field, the military advantages to be taken were clearly in favour of the King: but as he did not seize them, it must be fairly termed a drawn battle.[1]

The Parliamentary writers almost admit that their

[1] The loss on both sides is generally stated at upwards of 5000 killed, more than one-fifth of the whole number engaged; a number quite incredible, but much more than sufficient to disorganize more veteran armies than these.

side had the worst. Whitelocke calls it "a small "victory and a great deliverance." Ludlow says that their army "returned to London, not like men "that had gained a victory, but as if they had been "beaten."

The day after the battle, Essex was joined by Hampden with other regiments, to the number, according to Ludlow, of 4000 men. It is clear, therefore, that had he been so minded, he might have followed the King with almost a certainty of defeating him; but this was only the first of many instances I shall have to bring before the notice of the reader, of Lord Essex's unwillingness to push the King to extremities—a half mode of proceeding which has lost him his character as a general in the eyes of posterity.

Charles summoned Banbury, which surrendered to him without resistance, and from Aynhoe, instead of proceeding to London, where the Houses of Parliament and the citizens were in a state of the utmost alarm, he went to Oxford, losing more valuable time, and did not establish his head quarters at Maidenhead until the 8th of November.

On the 2nd November, Essex, with 12,000 men, and 37 pieces of artillery, marched from Northampton towards London; on the 5th he was at St. Alban's; and on the 6th, disposing the principal part of his army about Acton, and placing a garrison in Kingston to keep the bridge, went the next day to London, where "he was joyfully received by the Parliament,

" and thousands of those that were well affected did " flock to see him."[1]

The Parliament had recovered from their extreme panic[2] on finding that the King was not marching to London, and on the 3rd November the House of Commons had voted a present of 5000*l.* to the Lord General, with a letter of " thanks for his great service " to the Commonwealth." In a few days after his arrival he received the thanks of Parliament, " who " having, for his wisdom, courage, and fidelity, chosen " him General, find he has managed their service of " so high importance, with such care, valor, and dex- " terity, as well by the extremest hazard of his life, " as by all the actions of an expert and most ex- " cellent commander, as doth deserve their best ac- " knowledgment."[3]

We are now to relate a circumstance which, whether intentional or accidental, served as an engine of mischief in the hands of the extreme levelling party, who, as yet, dared not show themselves openly, and with which they were enabled to renew and strengthen the impressions of Charles's faithlessness and treachery.

On the 3rd November, the two Houses had voted a petition to the King, in which he was prayed to reside in some convenient place, where commissioners

[1] Perfect Diurnal.

[2] There is a letter from Hampden, in the Ashburnham Collection, showing the state of panic that existed. It is dated from Northampton, 31st October, to Colonel Bulstrode and others, telling them the army is daily advancing, and if they do not disband, they will be a mutual succour, but if they disperse, they will make themselves and the country a prey.

[3] Lords' Journal, v. 411.

from the Parliament might attend him to treat. Letters were written for a safe-conduct to the bearers of this petition, which being forwarded, the Earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, Mr. Pierrepoint, Lord Wenman, and Sir John Hippesley, waited on the King at Colnbrook on the 11th November, to which place he had advanced on the 10th. It must be observed that, on the advance of the King, the Houses had desired the Lord General to cover the approaches to London, who had, in consequence, posted the regiment of Denzil Holles in Brentford.

The King received the deputation graciously, and said that he would occupy Windsor Castle, and there receive the committees. They returned with this answer; on which Essex, asking in the House what he should do with the army, was directed to forbear hostilities till further orders.[1] The deputation had scarcely quitted the royal presence, when a strong detachment of cavalry and artillery, supported by the main body of the army, advanced from Colnbrook, attacked Brentford, and after a bloody resistance by Holles's regiment, which, but for the support of Hampden's and Lord Brooke's, would have been cut to pieces, remained masters of the town.

The next morning, the 12th, Charles sent a second message to Parliament, to say he would receive the propositions for peace at Brentford, pretending that he had just heard that Essex was advancing on him with all his army.[2]

[1] Lords' Journal, 12th November.

[2] Although there had been no formal cessation of arms agreed upon,

The enemies to peace immediately grasped this occasion; and Parliament having desired Essex to forbear hostilities, they certainly had some colour for their complaints of treachery. The King replied, that he was informed Essex was marching against him, and he seized Brentford to prevent his being surrounded. The falsity of this reason almost induces one to believe that it was an intentional act on the part of the King; for it is evident that with the Parliament forces at Acton, Kingston, and Windsor, his advance to Brentford only caused him to be more completely surrounded.

Essex, who was sitting in the House of Lords when the news of this engagement arrived, was ordered to "pursue the enemy with all advantage whatever," and immediately departed with the disposable troops. All that night, London was sending down trained bands and volunteers to support the army. On the 14th, 24,000 men stood in arms on Turnham Green, face to face with the royal army.[1] Rushworth says: "The Parliament men and gentlemen that were "officers, were all for engaging, but the soldiers of "fortune were altogether against it;" and although Essex sent four regiments of foot, and two of horse, to make a circuit, and fall on the King's left flank,

on which fact Charles grounded the defence of his conduct, the order of the House to Essex shows in what sense they understood the matter; and it certainly appears that the conduct of the Parliament was more creditable than the King's.

[1] The Earl of Essex went from regiment to regiment encouraging them, and when he had spoken to each, the soldiers would throw up their caps and cry, Hey, for old Robin! — Whitelocke, p. 65.

while he attacked in front at the same time, these troops were recalled before they could execute their orders, and Charles was again suffered to retire unmolested; and as if on purpose to facilitate his retreat, the garrison of Kingston, 3000 strong, had been withdrawn by London Bridge, leaving open for him the road to Oatlands, where he remained some days.

The good people of London during this day, were careful to provide for the wants of their defenders. The newspaper says: "It was a wonder to see how "many cart-loads of bread, cheese, and meat, baked, "boiled, and roasted, with great store of pies, piping "hot, was on a sudden brought out of every street "and parish to Guildhall; great quantities of beer "were also sent, besides an hogshead or two of sack, "and three or four hogsheads of burnt claret."

The royal army retreated to Reading, and thence, on the 29th November, to Oxford. On the 25th, Parliament resolved no more time should be spent in answering the King, "whose object is to delude us "with fair words, and to tire us out, and spend the "stock of the kingdom." On the 28th, Essex advanced to Windsor, and there established his head quarters during the winter.

On the 19th December, Charles wrote to Essex from Oxford, offering him a free pardon if he would "forbear to proceed any further in this destructive "war," and desiring that a Committee should be appointed to treat; the Earl replied in the following letter.

No. LVI.[1]

Essex to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,—I humbly tender my service at your royal feet, being willing to hazard my life and fortunes in the defence of your Majesty.

Whereas you have been pleased to declare your resolution concerning a treaty of peace, so has it been my desire, ever since the beginning of these differences, to embrace the same. But having such a great trust reposed in me, and committed to my charge by both Houses of Parliament, I cannot conceive but that I am bound in conscience, according to the law of God, to discharge that trust which is reposed in me by your great and honorable council, being for the defence of your Majesty's person, God's true religion, the privileges of both Houses of Parliament, the liberties of your good subjects, and the good of the Commonwealth. If it be the pleasure of that great council that hath reposed in me, to take the same charge from me again, and to confer it upon some other honorable person, I shall willingly surrender up my commission, and be ready to hazard my life and fortune in your Majesty's service against any foreign enemy. Your Majesty's most loyal subject, ESSEX.

During the winter, another ineffectual attempt was made to negotiate; both King and Parliament requiring certain conditions which the other was not willing to concede. It is probable that there was no sincere desire for peace on the part of the majority of the House of Commons; but the general feeling of the country, shown by the multitude of petitions, was so strongly in favour of it, that they could not treat it with neglect. A cessation of arms, while negotiations were pending, was agreed upon.

[1] From a collection of tracts, Brit. Mus.

CHAPTER XV.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1643. — 10,000*l.* A YEAR VOTED TO ESSEX. — HIS LETTERS RECOMMENDING PEACE AND DEMANDING MONEY. — DEBATE ON THEIR BEING READ. — SITUATION OF THE ROYALISTS. — SIR WILLIAM WALLER'S EXPEDITION AND DEFEAT. — JEALOUSY BETWEEN ESSEX AND WALLER. — PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT. — THE KING BESIEGES GLOUCESTER, WHICH PLACE IS RELIEVED BY ESSEX. — CIRENCESTER SURPRISED. — BATTLE OF NEWBURY. — ESSEX RECEIVES THE THANKS OF PARLIAMENT. — HE DESIRES LEAVE TO RESIGN HIS COMMISSION. — SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

THE campaign of 1643 opened with the siege of Reading, before which town the Earl of Essex, with an army of 16,000 foot and 3000 horse, sat down on the 15th of April, the day on which the truce expired. Unwilling to subject the place to an assault, the horrors of which he had witnessed in his continental service, Essex admitted the garrison to easy terms at the expiration of twelve days, during which he had repulsed, with great slaughter, an attempt of the Royalists to relieve the garrison. This acquisition was a source of much distress to the Parliament army, for an epidemic broke out among the troops, which destroyed great numbers; while the discontent of the soldiers at not being permitted to sack Reading, was increased by their pay being greatly in arrears, for the Parliament at that time was in financial dif-

ficulties. Many desertions took place, and a mutiny broke out, which was repressed by measures of great severity.

On the 30th April, the House of Commons had voted that the estates of the malignant, Lord Capel, should be granted to the Earl of Essex; but the Lords appearing, by their constant adjournment of the question, to be unwilling to reward the Earl in this manner, resolutions passed both Houses in the end of May, to the following effect:—That whereas Robert, Earl of Essex, General of the forces raised by the Parliament, "hath been plundered, robbed, "and spoiled of his goods and estates, amounting to "a great value, by divers traitors and rebels, who, "by colour of His Majesty's authority, have levied "war against the King, Parliament, and Kingdom: "and whereas the debts due unto, and the rents of "the said Earl, are, by warrant from William Cum-"berford, the pretended High Sheriff of the county "of Stafford, commanded to be paid to himself, who "thereby suggesteth to derive his power for doing "thereof by special command from His Majesty, "styling the said Earl an active rebel," &c.[1] The Parliament taking this into consideration, ordered that 10,000*l.* per annum should be paid to the Earl, out of the monies raised on the sequestered estates of "notorious delinquents." When it is recollected that the Parliament were at this time unable to pay their troops, it will not be expected that the payment of this large sum to Essex would be very regular; and

[1] Commons' Journal, iii. 95.

we shall find, at a later date, that it was never paid at all.

In compliance with the desire of the citizens of London, who, as they were to raise the means of paying the army, exercised an influential voice, but in opposition to his own judgment, Essex marched to Thame in June, with a view of proceeding to the siege of Oxford. But, aggravated by continued heavy rains, the sickness increased there to such a degree, and so wasted his army, that he became quite incapable of acting offensively; and giving up all idea of besieging Oxford, withdrew to Great Brickhill in the beginning of July, from which place he wrote the following letters.

No. LVII.[1]

Essex to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Mr. Speaker,—I would have given you the true relation of the skirmish on Sunday last, between some of the horse and the enemy near Buckingham, but Sir Philip Stapleton and Colonel Goodwin being then upon the place, I refer the relation thereof unto them; since when, being informed that the King had sent more forces to Buckingham to maintain that place, and bring these parts into contribution, where the enemy staid until the army came within two miles of them, and then made haste away towards Banbury, notwithstanding they had persuaded the people that they would not quit the place till they had beaten me out of the country. I then understanding that they were fled, held it not fit to go to the town with my army, but sent Colonel Middleton with

[1] Rushworth, vi. 290.

some horse to clear that town and coast, which they did; and then advised where to quarter with most conveniency for our army, and most ready for the enemy, the Queen's[1] forces being like to join with them very suddenly.

And that our army may the better serve the Parliament and city, and counties adjacent, and be more safely supplied with money from London, and lie most conveniently to join with the forces of the Lord Grey in Northamptonshire, I was advised to march to Great Brickhill, as the most fit place for all purposes, the enemy's chief strength being in horse. And, this army being recruited with neither horses, arms, nor saddles, it is impossible to keep the counties from being plundered, nor to fight with them but when and where they list; we being forced, when we move, to march with the whole army, which can be but slowly, so that the counties must suffer much wrong, and the cries of poor people are infinite.

If it were thought fit to send to His Majesty to have peace, with the settling of religion, the laws and liberties of the subject, and to bring unto just trials those chief delinquents that have brought all this mischief to both kingdoms; and, as my Lord of Bristol once spoke in Parliament, how we may be secured to have these things performed hereafter; or else, if His Majesty shall please to absent himself[2], there may be a day set down to give a period to all these unhappy distractions by a battle, in which, when and where they shall choose, that may be thought any way indifferent, I shall be ready to perform that duty I owe you; and the propositions to be agreed upon between His Majesty and the Parliament, may be sent to such an indifferent place, that both armies

[1] The Queen was on the march from York.

[2] Martyn, speaking of this part of Essex's letter, said, if the King would not withdraw, but put his finger to be cut, what was that to them. —Merc. Aulicus.

may be drawn near the one to the other, that if peace be not concluded, it may be ended by the sword; no officers of the army to be of the Committee, nor no intercourse to be between them. Sir, I am your assured friend,

Great Brickhill, 9th, July 1643. ESSEX.

No. LVIII.[1]

Essex to William Lenthal, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons.

Sir,—Not having as yet received any commands from the Parliament how to regulate this army in my advancing, since my last letter to you, and intelligence being brought that Prince Rupert and his plundering army is returning towards Oxford, I shall be enforced as soon as the army is paid, which will be to-morrow night (*sic in orig.*). I shall advance, God willing, at farthest on Friday. I have often desired that a Committee of both Houses might be sent to be a witness of our integrity to the service of the State, and must acknowledge the great favor both Houses shewed this army in appointing a Committee to come down[2]; but then both armies being afoot, I thought it dangerous for their passage, and not knowing how the great affairs of the kingdom may dispense with many from the service of the Houses. If it may stand with the convenience of the House of Commons, I shall entreat the favor that Sir Henry Vane the younger may be an eye witness of our actions[3], he being an intimate friend of mine, and who by his constant carriage in the Parliament, which hath gotten him a good repute in all places, may be a true testimony of our actions; it being of huge advantage to keep a good correspondence betwixt the Parliament and their

[1] Tanner MSS. 62. 106.

[2] Essex had asked for this committee, but when on their journey, he sent to advise them to halt for the reasons stated in the letter.

[3] Sir H. Vane was subsequently sent.

servants the army. He is, besides, a man I put so much trust in, as that, if he pleaseth, I shall go hand in hand with him to the walls of Oxford. If any supplies come down, they would be both welcome and needful; however, God willing, the army shall be led on to the most advantage our judgment shall guide us to. It is in God's hands to give the victory. Sir, I am your assured friend,

Brickhill, this 12th July, 1643. ESSEX.

No. LIX.[1]

Essex to the Speaker.

Sir,—I should not so often trouble you in your great affairs, but that I could not discharge the duty I owe, holding so great a charge as I do, but to acquaint you, that unless present order be taken for the supplying the army with money, their necessities are so great, it will be impossible for me to keep them together. For besides their former arrears, they are now three weeks without pay; many sick men recover, but finding no money they have small comfort. I am now marching to a fresh quarter, where, if they may have pay, recruits, and clothing, most of them being almost naked, and our soldiers not drawn away with new levies, I doubt not but in a short time to have a considerable army. Sir, I am your assured friend,

Uxbridge, this 6th August, 1643. ESSEX.

One of the newspapers informs us, that on the first of these letters being read in the House of Commons, there was a vehement debate; the "root and branch" men were beginning to show themselves in their true colours. Essex, with his desire to obtain peace, and to avoid bloodshed, was far too moderate, while his

[1] Tanner MSS. 62. 233.

rank was an additional objection against him. Vassall, member for London, moved that "the General be "pressed to speak more plainly, and that if, after "the expense of 2,000,000*l.* of treasure without any "effect, he had a mind to lay down arms, he should "let them know it, and there wanted not as good "soldiers as he to take them up."[1] This motion, though dropped at the time, was very popular in the City, where Sir William Waller was generally designated as the new General, whose successful expedition to the West had not then been cut short on Roundway Down. As if to render impossible a reconciliation with the King, the Commons had, on the 22nd May, impeached the Queen of high treason; but the Lords did not enter into the question, which was dropped.

The result of the debate was a resolution that as, by the royal proclamation of the 20th June[2], their existence as a Parliament was ignored, and consequently they could not treat with the King as a Parliament, and that they had bound themselves never to lay down arms as long as the Papists were protected, an answer should be sent to the Lord General to satisfy him, and they would recruit his troops as he desired.

Yet the affairs of the Parliament were never so low, nor those of the King in so prosperous a condition, as they were at this juncture. From Ux-

[1] Collection of newspapers, Brit. Mus.

[2] Warning His Majesty's good subjects not to be misled by the votes, orders, and pretended ordinances of the Houses, and offering pardon to those who would repair to him.—Rushworth, vi. 331.

bridge, Lord Essex conducted his wasted and "al-"most naked" army into quarters about Kingston on Thames, where we will leave them for a time to notice the situation of the royalist forces, and the expedition of Sir William Waller.

In the North, Newcastle was victorious over Fairfax; in the West, Lord Stamford had been completely defeated by Sir Ralph Hopton at Stratton, the result of which was the fall of Exeter to Prince Maurice, who, with Hertford and Hopton, remained masters of the Western Counties.

Henrietta Maria had landed in Yorkshire in February, bringing with her supplies of money and munitions of war. Want of ammunition had prevented the Oxford army from acting early in the season; a supply sent by the Queen from York removed that difficulty, and at length, having collected an army, she proceeded to join her husband, who met her at Edgehill on the 13th July. She brought him 3000 foot, 30 troops of horse, 6 guns, 2 mortars, and 150 waggons loaded with stores, and arrived at Oxford the same day as the news of the victory on Roundway Down.

Although Reading had surrendered, the garrison of 3000 men had been permitted to rejoin their colours; the loss of that town may, therefore, be considered to have added to the King's strength.

The defeat of Waller was followed by the capture of Bristol, which place was shamefully surrendered by Nathaniel Fiennes to Prince Rupert on the 27th July.

A great loss had been sustained by the rebels on the 18th June, in the person of John Hampden, one of the most distinguished and esteemed of that party. Prince Rupert had made one of those rapid guerilla expeditions for which he was celebrated, and had beaten up a rebel post at Chinnor during the night. On his return towards Oxford, hotly pursued, he was forced to turn and face the enemy at Chalgrave field. In the skirmish which ensued, the great patriot fell mortally wounded.

Sir William Waller, after taking Chichester, had been detached from Lord Essex's army into the West. He defeated Lord Herbert, and took in succession Malmesbury, Tewkesbury, Chepstow, Monmouth, Hereford, and Leominster, overrunning the country and raising contributions. Having notice that Prince Maurice, Hertford, and Hopton, whose head-quarters were at Wells, intended to cut him off, he returned to Bath; many skirmishes took place; at length an indecisive action was fought on Lansdown, after which, Maurice and Hertford went to Oxford, Hopton to Devizes, in which town Waller was besieging him, when Lord Wilmot arrived from Oxford with 1500 horse and two guns, and on the 13th July, a battle was fought on Roundway Down, in which Sir William Waller was completely defeated; his men threw away their arms and fled, and Waller himself escaped to Bristol without the shadow of an army, leaving artillery, baggage, and ammunition to the Royalists.

Sir William Waller had treated his enemy with

the greatest contempt, having, in his vain-glorious confidence, written to the Parliament that "their "work was done, and by the next post he would "send the number and quality of his prisoners." The extreme party, who perceived Essex would never go the length they desired, had already planned the setting up an independent General, and had selected Waller. The latter, after his defeat, complained that he had been "sacrificed by "Essex, who, jealous of the great things he had "done, which eclipsed his own glories, had, although "lying with his whole army within ten miles of "Oxford, suffered the whole strength of that place "to march thirty miles to destroy him, without "sending out a party to follow them, or to alarm "Oxford, which would have caused their recall."

Waller's charge was so remote from the truth, that Essex had actually intended a diversion in his favour. On the 13th July, a letter from the Earl was read in the Houses, in which he said, that "hearing the "King's forces were preparing to make head against "Sir William Waller, enraged at his late success, he "was paying the troops with the money just arrived, "and meant to advance on Oxford next Saturday." It was too late when he wrote the letter to have afforded any succour.[1]

Nevertheless, Waller was received by his friends with open arms; and the citizens resolved that he should command an army raised by them, while

[1] Perfect Diurnal, 13th July.

injurious reports were put in circulation against Essex.

Lord Essex had no sooner placed his army in a convenient situation for recruiting and clothing, than he sent some of the principal officers to the House of Lords with a report of the state of the troops, and their requisitions. He stated, out of 6000 foot there were at least one half sick and disabled by want of pay and clothing; that since the last muster the horses had diminished in number from 3000 to 2500; that recruits of horses had been often asked for[1], but never sent; that men deserted from his army to go to the new one under Waller, where they hoped for better food and clothing; that great scandals had been put upon the Lord General, the officers, and army, through false suggestions and misunderstanding, poisoning the affections of the people, and hindering recruits and contributions.

He therefore demanded immediate payment of arrears, and regular payment for the future; that clothing should be sent; that 800 horses should be sent forthwith, and a monthly supply of 200 in future; that the new raised men should not be put into the new army until the old were recruited; that all who entertained deserters should be punished; that those who were guilty of scandal against his Excellency, the officers, and army, should be severally punished; that his Excellency having, by an ordi-

[1] Besides his own letters, there was one from the council of war of his army to the Speaker of the House of Lords, of 19th July.—Parl. Hist. iii. 155.

nance of both Houses, the sole power to grant commissions, that none should be granted save by him; that, it having been reported that the losses in the West had been occasioned by his Excellency, the loss, and the cause of it, should be thoroughly inquired into.

The Lords passed resolutions to the above effect, which being sent down to the Commons, that House agreed to all except the last, and vindicated the character of the Lord General from all aspersions. On the resolution to inquire into the loss at Roundway Down, they divided, and rejected the motion by fifty-one votes to thirty.

On the 5th August, the Lords voted to petition the King for peace, on account of the miseries entailed upon the country by the civil war, and sent down resolutions to that effect to the Commons, which passed by a majority of twenty-nine. But the Common Council sending a petition to the Lower House against peace, they reconsidered the question, and again divided in favour of peace, by a majority of nine. The war party were not satisfied, and affecting to doubt the rectitude of the tellers, insisted on dividing again; during the interim they whipped in nine votes for their side of the question, which was thus lost by two votes, and so was destroyed the hope of accommodation between the King and Parliament. This was a remarkable crisis, for the minority proposed to seek the protection of Lord Essex and the army. Their design got wind, and Pym and Say and Sele were beforehand with them, and so in-

fluenced Lord Essex, that, when applied to by his friends, he replied that he could not conscientiously act against those from whom he received his commission. The Earls of Bedford, Holland, Portland [1], Clare [2], Lords Conway and Lovelace [3], immediately left London and repaired to Oxford, where, by a most singular want of policy, they were so coldly received, and so scornfully treated, that with the exception of Portland and Lovelace, who had always been considered Royalists, the whole of these noblemen had returned to the Parliament by April of the following year.

As soon as Bristol had surrendered to Rupert, the King marched into the West, and on the 9th of August laid siege to Gloucester. It was soon resolved by the Houses to relieve that city; the recruiting of Essex's army now went on in earnest, and the shops of London were ordered to be closed until Gloucester was relieved. After much intriguing, it had been ordered that Sir William Waller should receive his commission from the Earl of Essex, and the army of the latter was to be reinforced by some of the City regiments, which Waller had hoped to obtain in independent command.

It was not possible for the King to have committed a greater error than he did in attacking Gloucester. Inspirited by their late successes, sanguine for the future, his army was as much strengthened morally,

[1] Jerome Weston, second earl, succeeded in 1634, died 1662.
[2] John Holles, second earl, succeeded 1637, died 1665.
[3] John Lovelace, second lord, succeeded 1634, died 1670.

as the Parliament army was enfeebled by sickness and discords. He ought to have attacked London; had he once struck down the head, the members would soon have fallen.

On the 15th August, Lord Essex mustered his army on Hounslow Heath; there were 3500 foot, and 2500 horse. He was afterwards joined by five regiments of foot and one of horse from the City. Brackley Heath was appointed the general rendezvous, at which place his force was further augmented by Lord Grey and Colonel Harvey, with 4000 horse and foot, and a large number of volunteers. His army must now have amounted to upwards of 15,000 men. On the 2nd September he moved from Aynhoe, directing his march by Chipping Norton and Stow on the Wold. The cavalry of Lord Wilmot out of Oxford, and subsequently Prince Rupert, who had been detached from the royal army on the report of his advance, constantly hung upon Essex's army, and by frequent skirmishes with the rebel horse, endeavoured to check the advance of the main body led by Essex in person, but without effect.

On the 5th September, on the heights above Prestbury, Lord Essex displayed his army, and fired four pieces of ordnance, as a signal to the besieged that relief was at hand. That night the royal army burnt their huts, raised the siege of Gloucester, and retired to Sudeley, and afterwards to Evesham.

On the 8th, Essex entered Gloucester, and was received with great rejoicings; for, obstinate as had been the defence, the resources of the besieged were

nearly exhausted, and they could not have anticipated the celerity and vigour with which the march of the relieving army had been executed. After two days' rest, Essex took his army to Tewkesbury, to cover Gloucester while the place was being revictualled. From Tewkesbury he wrote the following letter.

No. LX.[1]

Essex to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Sir,—I will not trouble you with the particulars of our march; you shall, God willing, hear that more at large hereafter. You may be certified only hereby, that the first time the enemy appeared before us, was at Aynhoe on the Hill, with a very great body of horse, which Colonel Middleton faced more than a whole day with but two regiments, and *in campania*, and skirmished very often with them. The enemy faced us afterwards at Stow on the Wold, with about 4000 horse, and retreated before us two days together, without engaging himself more than by small skirmishes. Upon Tuesday, in the evening, the King's forces seeing us approach, raised their siege from before Gloucester, whither it pleased God we came very seasonably, for the Governor had not above two or three barrels of powder left; yet had he managed his business with so much judgment and courage, that the enemy not knowing of such want, had but small hope of obtaining their desires. We now stay here only for the relieving of Gloucester with victual and other provisions, of which there is an extraordinary scarcity.

That which I must press you with earnestly at this time is, first, that there be a sudden provision of 8 or 10,000*l.* to

[1] Lords' Journal, vi. 218.

be sent to that garrison, without which, there will be an impossibility of maintaining it this winter, the discontent of the inferior officers and common soldiers being very great, for want of their pay and arrears; they at this time justly expecting rather reward for their good service, than want of what is their due. The second, that the 1000 foot which the Parliament is already engaged by promise to send, may speedily march thither, without which they will not be able to fetch any provisions from the country, but the enemy will be master to the very gates. The third, that Sir William Waller may be speedily sent down into these parts, which is the only means to preserve those friends you have here; for mine own army is in such extreme necessity for want of pay, being now in an enemy's country, and at this time within four or five miles of the King's army, where no provision can be had but for ready money, and so little hope have I of a supply from you, that, unless we can presently fight, I must be immediately necessitated to draw into some other place, which may be nearer supplies, and have a more free intercourse to London.

Your assured friend,

Tewkesbury, 10th Sept., 1643. ESSEX.

On the receipt of this letter, resolutions were immediately passed in compliance with the two first of the requisitions; the third was passed over without notice.

While lying at Tewkesbury, Essex was informed that a body of royalist troops, with a convoy of provisions, was at Cirencester. He made a show of throwing a bridge over the Severn, and sent a detachment to Upton, making a feint as though he intended an attack on Worcester. Having, by this manœuvre, deceived the royalist commanders, he made

a long and rapid march to Cirencester, fell upon that place at one o'clock in the morning, surprised and entirely destroyed two regiments there, and capturing all the officers and the colours, 300 men, 400 horses, and 40 loads of provisions, which seasonably supplied the wants of his army.

From Cirencester, the army proceeded by easy marches towards Hungerford. In passing Albourne Chase, the rear-guard was attacked with great vigour by the royal horse under Prince Rupert, who had been sent in pursuit as soon as the real direction of Essex's march had been ascertained. Considerable loss was sustained by both sides in the skirmishing which ensued; but no other result followed, and Essex pursued his march to Hungerford, and thence, on the 19th September, to Newbury.

On arriving within two miles of Newbury, that place was found to be occupied by the whole royal army; which, marching by Wantage, had reached Newbury about two hours before. The rebel army passed the night under arms. The King, who had possession of the town, and a clear road in his rear to Oxford, resolved not to fight but on advantageous terms; while Essex, between whom and his supplies the royal army had interposed, was equally determined to force the passage.

At daybreak on the 20th, the Earl of Essex, at the head of his own regiment and two brigades of infantry, commenced the action by forcing the rising ground, called Bigg's Hill, about three quarters of a mile from the town. This spot appears to have

become the focus of the battle; and for many hours the possession of it was obstinately contested. The left of the rebels, and right of the royal army, were placed in the small enclosures and swampy ground between the village of Enburne and the river Kennet, where they could not act except as skirmishers. The rebel right, under Major-General Skippon, extended from Bigg's Hill, along the valley to Newbury Wash, crossing the high road, and covering the approach of their artillery under Sir John Meyrick.

Prince Rupert, at the head of the royal cavalry, displayed his usual impetuous valour; and several times during the day, the rebel horse, under Sir Philip Stapleton, were forced to seek shelter in the rear of their foot, and there reform their broken masses; but all attempts to shake the infantry of Essex's army were defeated. In vain did Rupert lead up his choicest horsemen against them. The front ranks presented an impenetrable array of pikes[1]; while the rear ranks, with their matchlocks, repaid with interest the fire from the carbines and pistols of the Cavaliers. The combat did not cease until the shades of night rendered it impossible to distinguish friend from foe, when the Royalists drew back on the town. The rebels maintaining the ground on which they fought, prepared for a renewal of the battle on the morrow; but during the night the King withdrew

[1] The pike was fourteen or fifteen feet in length. It may not be uninteresting to the reader to be informed that there is in the United Service Museum, a revolving pistol of the time of Charles I., which acts on a principle identical with those supposed to be lately invented by Colonel Colt of the United States.

his army, leaving open the road to Reading, and thus tacitly admitting that he was worsted. Lord Essex arrived at Reading on the 22nd, and after resting his army, proceeded to Windsor.

Before he quitted the field of battle, he took measures for the interment of the slain, by issuing the following order to the minister, Mr. Fulke, and the constables of the parish of Enburne.

These are to will and require, and straightly charge and command you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to bury all the dead bodies lying in and about Enburne and Newbury Wash, as you, or any of you, will' answer the contrary at your utmost peril.

Dated the 21st of September, 1643. ESSEX.

The loss on the side of the Parliament in the battle, was stated to be 500 men; that of the Royalists was considerably greater, the rebel artillery having been advantageously placed and well served, while that of the King was not, according to Clarendon, made use of during the day. While, on the rebel side, few officers, and none of note, were slain, Charles had to lament the loss of above twenty officers; among them the Earls of Carnarvon[1] and Sunderland[2], and most of all, Lucius Viscount Falkland[3], a man whose patriotism and virtues cast over the cause he had

[1] Robert, second Lord Dormer, created Earl of Carnarvon, 1628; extinct in his son, 1709.

[2] Henry, third Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, was born 1620; married, 1639, Lady Dorothy Sidney,—Waller's Sacharissa; went with the Country party till "they asked things that did deny themselves;" was created Earl of Sunderland, 1643.

[3] Lucius Carey, second viscount, born 1610.

espoused, a lustre fully equal to that which the other side had received from John Hampden. The number of men killed on the King's side cannot be ascertained, the accounts being so understated by his partizans, and exaggerated by his adversaries, as to be unworthy of credit.

On the 26th September, the Lord General being at Essex House, the two Houses waited upon him, to offer their thanks for the great services he had rendered. In the House of Lords, he presented several colours captured from the King's army, one of which had upon it "a picture of the Parliament "House, with two traitors' heads at the ends of it, "and this motto, *Ut extra sic intra.*" Another represented a Cavalier in pursuit of a Roundhead, the latter crying, *Quarter;* the Cavalier replying, *Qui sequitur vincit.*[1]

It has been stated, that Sir William Waller received his commission from the Lord General. Essex had been induced to sign a commission, in which he left blank the space for the name, which was filled up by the authority of Parliament. It gave powers to Waller, which rendered him in some degree independent of his superior. On the 5th October, Essex remonstrated against the inconvenience of Waller's army being quartered with his, unless it were subject to his orders. He declared to a Committee, sent to confer with him on the subject, that he considered Waller's commission, as it was penned, to be incom-

[1] Lords' Journal, vi. 233.

patible with his own; and that he was resolved, if he continued to hold his office, that he would grant commissions and command the army as heretofore; and he further "desired leave to resign his commis-"sion, and retire beyond seas, in regard to Sir William "Waller's commission, and of the many discourage-"ments he had received in being General."[1] The Houses were not yet prepared to dispense with the name and service of Lord Essex; they therefore ordered that Waller should give up his commission, and receive another from the Lord General; and that, instead of receiving his orders from the two Houses, he should receive them from the Lord General. Essex's army was moved to St. Alban's, Waller's quartered at Colnbrook. The following letter from Essex shows that he looked upon Sir William Waller as a rival set up against him, and that he was determined to resist the efforts of Waller's friends to make him independent of himself.

No. LXI.[2]

Essex to the Speaker.

Sir,—I received an order the last night, to desire me forthwith to send a commission to Sir William Waller, to command the forces of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, according to an ordinance of both Houses. I am so ready for the advancement of the present service he is now engaged in, and my will to satisfy the desire of the honorable

[1] Lords' Journal, vi. 242.

[2] Tanner MSS. 62. 490.

House of Commons, as that I have sent down a commission accordingly. But finding expressions in that order, that might intimate a neglect in me, and being confident of my own integrity to serve both Houses, and to preserve the good opinion of the House of Commons, I shall acquaint you that I sent a commission by Mr. Nicols, which he kept some days, and then wrote earnestly to me for another more ample; I, wondering why he should keep it so long, and then send for another, deferred my resolution until I came up; but this order intervening, prevented me of asking the reason. It is true the commission was not according as I usually grant them, but it gave him full authority for the present service. For the reasons of my limitations in the former commission, I forbear to give them; but whensoever the Houses shall command me, I shall be ready to make it appear I did no more than I ought to do, having received so great a trust from the Parliament, in the discharge of my duty, and then to submit to their further pleasures.

Sir, I desire you to believe it shall be my greatest care so to carry myself, as that I may give a real account of my actions, whensoever it shall please the Parliament to require it.

The charge I took was not by my seeking, I knowing my own imperfections, but not in the least way of fidelity and constancy. And it was a great encouragement to me, the noble and free offers of both Houses to live and die with me, which hath put a great confidence in me, that I shall never want your just protection and assistance; and that you will take care of that army that hath shewed so much faithfulness and resolution in your services, and that God hath been pleased of his infinite goodness so to protect. And for my own part, I am every day so confirmed in the justness of the cause, that let the strength I have be never so weak, I shall never desert the cause as long as I have any blood in my veins, until this kingdom may be made happy by a blessed

peace,—which is all honest men's prayer,—or to have an end by the sword, which is the intention of your assured friend, ESSEX.

Essex House, this 2nd of January, 1644.

At the time that the affairs of the Parliament bore an unfavourable aspect, during the preceding summer, certain commissioners had been sent to Scotland to negotiate a Treaty of Assistance. As a preliminary measure, a Solemn Mutual League and Covenant was entered into by the two nations. This Covenant, which at first presented difficulties, owing to the intolerance and obstinacy of both Presbyterians and Independents, was at length drawn up in terms sufficiently ambiguous for each party to interpret them according to its own views. It was passed by the General Assembly, and sent to London on the 18th August, and, with some trifling alterations, passed by both Houses. The contracting parties bound themselves to the preservation and reformation of true religion, to the extirpation of popery, prelacy (by which was meant church government by archbishops, bishops, and all ecclesiastical officers depending on the hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness, to preserve the rights and privileges of Parliament and the liberty of the kingdoms, to discover and bring to condign punishment all incendiaries and malignants, and to assist and defend all who entered into this League and Covenant.

The Covenant was solemnly taken by the House of Commons in St. Margaret's Church on the 22nd September, and by the House of Lords on the 16th

October. The Earl of Northumberland, and some other Peers, who desired not the ascendancy of either Presbyterian or Independent doctrines, absented themselves from the ceremony; but Northumberland subscribed the Covenant on the 30th, and his example was followed by most, if not all, of the others.

By the Treaty of Assistance, the Scots agreed to send an army of 18,000 foot and 3000 horse, with a train of artillery, into England; for the services of this army the Parliament at Westminster agreed to pay 30,000*l.* a month, with 100,000*l.* as an advance, besides a recompense at the establishment of peace. By the end of the year 1643, this formidable reinforcement to the enemies of the King was assembled, under the Earl of Leven, at the appointed rendezvous on the Borders.

Sir William Waller was sent to besiege Arundel Castle, Lord Essex's army was brought back to Windsor, and the Earl of Manchester, who commanded an army raised in the Eastern Counties, occupied Newport Pagnel.

CHAPTER XVI.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX — *continued.*

THE KING CALLS A PARLIAMENT AT OXFORD, IN JANUARY, 1644.— AN ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE FAILS.—NEGLECTED STATE OF THE ARMY.—OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN.—ESSEX AND WALLER ADVANCE ON OXFORD.—THE KING RETREATS, AND IS PURSUED BY WALLER.—ESSEX MARCHES INTO THE WEST.—HIS LETTERS, DETAILING HIS PROCEEDINGS.—HIS DISSATISFACTION.—HE IS REPRIMANDED IN A LETTER FROM THE SPEAKERS.

THE King's exchequer was at this time very much exhausted. With a view to devise the means of replenishing it, and to avert the danger threatened by the newly formed alliance between the Parliament and the Scots, Charles summoned a Parliament, or Convention, of the Lords and Commons attached to the royal cause, to meet at Oxford on the 22nd January, 1644. Forty-three Peers, and one hundred and eighteen members of the House of Commons, attended this summons; twenty-nine Lords, and fifty-seven Commoners, were absent on the King's service.

The first act of the Oxford Parliament was an attempt to open a negotiation for peace by the mediation of the Earl of Essex. On the 30th January, the Lord General presented to the House of Lords a packet he had received from Oxford. A Committee being appointed to open it, the contents

were found to be a letter from the Earl of Forth to Essex, enclosing a parchment[1] signed by all the Lords and Commons at Oxford, expressing their desire for peace; but as this document was not addressed to the Parliament, they recommended that it should be left to the Lord General to reply to it, which he did in the following letter.

No. LXII.[2]

Essex to the Earl of Forth.

My Lord,—I received this day a letter of the 29th inst. from your Lordship, and a parchment subscribed by the Prince, the Duke of York, and divers Lords and Gentlemen; but it neither having address to the two Houses of Parliament, nor therein there being any acknowledgment of them, I could not communicate it to them.

My Lord, the maintenance of the Parliament of England, and of the privileges thereof, is that for which we are all resolved to spend our blood, as being the foundation whereon all our laws and liberties are built.

I send your Lordship herewith a National Covenant, solemnly entered into by both the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and a declaration passed by them both together, with another declaration by the kingdom of Scotland. I rest your Lordship's humble servant, ESSEX.

Essex House, January 30th, 1644.

Charles then addressed himself to the Parliament: some expressions in his letter were voted to be insulting; the attempt at negotiation failed, and both

[1] This document is printed in Parl. Hist. iii. 210.

[2] Lords' Journal.

parties prepared for a renewal of hostilities under feelings of increased bitterness. These efforts to obtain peace had not been overthrown without much debating in the House of Commons, and a dispute with the Lords, who had refused to concur with certain resolutions of the Commons; indeed, the pecuniary affairs of the Parliament were not in so flourishing a condition as to justify their obstinacy in continuing the miseries of civil war. The consciousness of the more violent and unscrupulous members that their offences could never really be forgotten, must have strengthened their animosity towards the King, and their resolution to continue the war.

In February, the Lord General presented to the Lords a letter from General Skippon, the Lieutenant General of his army, stating that the troops were in a state of mutiny for want of pay. On the 8th April, he put in a declaration of his own, containing a powerful remonstrance against the neglected condition in which his army was left. He stated that, through the army not having been recruited, he was unable to take advantage of the late victory[1] obtained by Sir W. Waller and Sir W. Balfour over Lord Hopton; that had they been beaten, there was no army to fall back upon; that Newark[2] was not taken, Lincolnshire lost, Gloucester not supplied; that the enemy, through his weakness, had been enabled to ex-

[1] On the 29th March, near Alresford, Hants.

[2] Newark was besieged in the beginning of March, and relieved on the 21st by Prince Rupert, who forced Sir J. Meldrum with 3000 men to surrender upon terms.

tend their quarters; and that last week "there was "but a step between us and death, or, what is worse, "slavery."

"For my part," he continues, "as I first engaged "myself in this cause, and undertook this service "with an honest and single heart, without any "particular end of my own, but merely to serve "my country, and defend religion and liberty, in "which cause both Houses of Parliament, and the "good party of the whole kingdom, have solemnly "protested to live and die with me, which hath kept "up my spirits all this while, and would not suffer "me to lay down my commission, notwithstanding "all my discouragements,—I being not conscious to "myself of giving the least offence to any, unless it "were for executing my place as General in that my "conscience told me was my duty,— so I shall be "ready still to prosecute it with the utmost of my "endeavours, and desire no longer to live than I "shall be faithful in it; and though you have been "pleased to reduce my army to 7500 foot and 3000 "horse[1], when my Lord of Manchester is allowed an "army of 14,000[2], and receives an allowance of "34,000*l.* a month for the pay of it, since it is done "by you I submit, and with them, or a lesser number, "if it be your pleasures, I will, as I have several "times already, adventure my life for the service of "this cause."[3]

[1] By an ordinance of March 26.

[2] This force had been raised in the associated counties in the end of 1643, and was confirmed by an ordinance, May 15. 1644.

[3] Lords' Journal.

This remonstrance being considered, a committee of both Houses went the next day to the City to urge an advance of men and money. The Earl of Warwick and Sir Henry Vane having spoken, were followed by the Earl of Essex in these words: —

"My Lord and Gentlemen, — You have understood "by a noble Lord, my Lord Admiral, and this noble "gentleman of the House of Commons, the desire of "both Houses of Parliament; they have acquainted "you what the King's intention is, to draw all his "forces together, and what the Parliament doth "intend in drawing all the forces they can south-"ward, and what great victory God hath given "Sir William Waller and Sir William Balfour; so I "am only to take this opportunity to give you all "acknowledgments and thanks for those great aids "that I have had always to go along with me; for I "must needs acknowledge that most of the things "that have been done by me, especially the business "at Gloucester, have been done by your help. I "should desire the like still, and what shall come to "me I shall use with good respects, and venture my "life with them. I should have been very glad that "my army had been in that case, that I might not "have needed to take any of you from your own "houses, knowing how much you have already been "at, both in your estates and blood, in the service of "religion and of this cause; but whatsoever forces "you please to draw out, I shall venture my life with "them, and be ready to make a quick end of this "cause."

In the beginning of January, the name of Lord Essex had been added to the "Assembly of learned "and godly divines and others," which was appointed to settle the liturgy and government of the Church of England. Shortly afterwards, a committee of members of both Houses was appointed, whose duty was, jointly with the commissioners sent from Scotland, to consult, direct, and manage all the affairs of the two kingdoms for carrying on the war to the best advantage, and keeping up a good intelligence between the two nations, and to correspond with foreign states. The Earls of Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, and Manchester; Viscount Saye and Sele; Lords Wharton and Roberts; Honourable William Pierpoint; Sirs H. Vane, sen. and jun., Philip Stapleton, William Waller, Gilbert Gerrard, William Armyn, Arthur Haslerig; Oliver St. John, John Crew, Robert Wallop, Oliver Cromwell, Samuel Brown, and John Glynne, the Recorder, Esqs.,—were appointed members of this Committee.[1] From the order and letter books of this Committee,—which remained in the custody of John Milton, their secretary, until the Restoration, were then taken from him, and are now in the State Paper Office,—the chief part of the correspondence and information respecting this, the last campaign of Lord Essex, has been extracted.

The first meeting of the Committee took place at Essex House, on the 18th February, 1644. An oath

[1] The Earl of Loudon, Sir Archibald Johnston of Waristoun, and Mr. Robert Barclay, were the Scots members.

of secrecy[1] was administered to each member; a chairman was chosen every fortnight, Northumberland being the first; and a minister was appointed to pray daily at the meeting and rising of the Committee. Lord Essex appears to have attended the meetings almost every day until he went to join the army.

In the account of this campaign, which, in its commencement, promised so auspiciously, and terminated so disastrously, for the army of the Earl of Essex, it will be my endeavour to show that his march into the West was not the great error that has been commonly supposed; and that his failure arose partly from the fact of Sir William Waller[2] being drawn off from his attendance on the royal army, and partly from the jealousy which that General and his friends entertained of Lord Essex; but, perhaps, in a still greater measure, from the general movements of the armies being directed by a Committee sitting in London, a course pregnant with evil, on which Whitelocke[3] justly observes: "that it was thought "strange, at that time, that the Committee of both "Kingdoms should, at that distance, take upon them "to give particular orders for the services and march "of their armies, and not rather leave it to the chief "commanders that were upon the place, who, upon "every motion of the enemy, might see cause to "alter their counsels. This increased the jealousies

[1] The House of Lords rejected the oath of secrecy, but it is entered in the Order Book.

[2] Waller was certainly disabled for a time, after his defeat at Cropredy Bridge, by the mutiny and disorganization of his army.

[3] Mem. p. 90.

" between the Lord General and Waller, both gallant " men ; but the General thought himself undervalued, " and Waller too much exalted."

When Charles received intelligence that the army of the Parliament was about to take the field, he withdrew the garrison from Reading, destroying the works, and concentrated his army about Wantage, Faringdon, and Abingdon.

On the 14th May, Essex and Waller left London to commence operations, the army of Essex being at Beaconsfield, that of Waller at Farnham. On the 25th, the royal troops evacuated Abingdon at the approach of Essex's advanced guard, who occupied that town in person the following day. Sir William Waller at the same time approaching Wantage, the royal army fell back on Oxford and Woodstock, covering the bridges over the Isis and Charwell. Essex crossed the Thames at Sandford, and displaying his army on Bullington Green, within sight of Oxford, as though he intended an attack on the city[1], extended himself along the east bank of the Charwell, and taking up his quarters at Islip, some skirmishing took place at Gosford Bridge. In the mean time, Waller had advanced to Abingdon, where an attempt was made by the King to surprise him in a night attack, and defeat his army before Essex could recross the Thames. This being repulsed with loss, it was

[1] That an attack on Oxford was not seriously intended, is shown by a letter from the Committee of both Houses, dated Derby House, 31st May, in which they "concur with his Excellency in the danger of trinketing (*i. e.* meddling) with Oxford." They also forwarded him some intercepted letters.

resolved that the King should immediately leave Oxford, which he did on the 3rd June; and marching by Bourton on the Water, and Evesham, arrived at Worcester on the 6th.

On the same day that the King evacuated Oxford, Essex passed the Charwell, and Waller forced the passage of the Isis at Newbridge. Advancing by Woodstock, Essex halted on the 6th June at Chipping Norton, on which day Waller, marching through Witney and Burford, arrived at Stow on the Wold.

The intercepted letters sent to Essex on the 30th, as mentioned in a note, contained intelligence of the extreme distress to which the garrison of Lyme was reduced; and the Committee earnestly urged the General to send relief to that place. At a Council of War it was resolved, that as Waller's army had lighter artillery and fewer carriages, he should go in pursuit of the King, while Essex should relieve Lyme. Against this decision Waller remonstrated vehemently, urging that the West was assigned to him by the Committee. Essex ordered him peremptorily to march according to the decision of the Council of War, which he was compelled to obey, but sent complaints to his friends productive of much subsequent mischief.

No. LXIII.[1]

Essex to the Right Honourable the Committee of both Kingdoms, at Derby House.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I have received your letter of the 1st June, and therein a direction to acquaint you with

[1] S. P. O.

the state of the army, which I conceive I shall do best by sending your LL. this abstract of the last musters, whereby you may make a near computation of our strength. My endeavour hath been to fight the King's army, in pursuit whereof I have advanced as far as Islip. My army came not all in till twelve of the clock on Wednesday night, where, for the most part, we have been and yet are in skirmish upon the several passes of the river of Charwell, and sometimes the service hath been hot. It appears that the enemy declining to fight, hath endeavoured to stop us of passing that river, and consequently of forcing him to fight, or retire further. But I hope that if Sir Wm. Waller, according to orders which I have already sent him . . . . . on the other . . . . . the river, I shall be able to give some farther account of service upon them, if by the want of money and ammunition I be not hindered, having already . . . . . them both, which I earnestly recommend to your especial care, and remain your Lordship's humble servant,

Islip, 2nd June, 1644. ESSEX.

P.S. The Dutch ambassadors came this day from Oxford, and made very affectionate expressions to myself and the council of war, of their desires to do their utmost service in procuring a peace between the King and Parliament. The answer that we gave them I will not now trouble you with, intending to send it up to you very shortly by Sir John Bampfield.

No. LXIV.[1]

Essex to the Committee.

My Lords and Gentlemen, — Since my last, the enemy hath drawn all his forces, both horse and foot, from the passes of the river near Oxford, and for aught that I can

[1] S. P. O.

understand from all prisoners and scouts, they are in a very ill condition if they do not help themselves. By passing to and from the river, our horses have been upon very great duty. Commissary General Beloe having been upon duty in the field ever since Thursday till this night, and finding by this morning that the enemy was retreating, fell upon their rear, and took 40 or 50 prisoners, whereof one gentleman, a great papist and of great estate, Sir W. Spencer. To-morrow morning, God willing, I have appointed to march by break of day, and then I shall be able to give your Lordships a further account. Captain Fleming killed at Woodstock a quartermaster of the Prince Charles hand to hand, and all he said after he was wounded, and before he died, was, "The devil take all the papists that had brought him to this." Sir Charles Blunt having stroke an officer of the trained bands of Oxford, he killed him near the King. We had not staid here this long, notwithstanding the enemy's endeavour to stop the passes, had Col. Harvey come up to us sooner, till whose arrival we were not provided for the service, which now we shall be.

Your Lordships' humble servant,

Islip, 3rd June, 1644. Essex.

No. LXV.[1]

Essex to the Committee.

My Lords and Gentlemen, — The relief of Lyme, which you so earnestly recommended to me, hath taken up the best of my care and endeavours to fulfil, which, next unto fighting with the King's army, I suppose to be of most instant concernment. The King is now fled rather than gone with an army, having left his many and weighty carriages at Oxford, and is so much made up of lighthorsemen, as an army

[1] S. P. O.

with carriages must come much behind him. I have therefore applied myself to the relief of Lyme, which, seeing you so recommended it to me, I durst not undertake with less than my army. And in case the King should not with his army go westward, your wisdom and care will provide for what may tend to the safety of these parts; my desires being only, to the best of my understanding, to approve myself for the advancement of the public service, and of my being your humble servant,

Chipping Norton, 6th June, 1644. ESSEX.

It is a singular circumstance, and deserving of mention, that, at this very time, while Lord Essex was apparently the most determined enemy to the King, he should be a petitioner to the Parliament for the King's sister, as appears by the following letter.

No. LXVI.[1]

Essex to the House of Lords.

My Lords,—It hath pleased the Queen of Bohemia to write to me, and to make known her necessities to be so great, that she wants wherewith to defray the charge of her house. Your Lordships know how much this kingdom is concerned in honor to see that a prince of her birth and near alliance to this Crown, should not fall into a condition so much below herself; wherefore I beseech your Lordships to take it into consideration, and if you think fit, to communicate it likewise unto the honorable House of Commons; and I doubt not, but though the burden and charge of the kingdom be now very great, yet some honorable provision will be made herein. I hope your Lordships will pardon this boldness in me in respect of that which I owe to that

[1] Lords' Journal.

Princess, for whose sake, and in whose service, I had the honor first to bear arms. And if my intercession may in any way advantage her, I shall take it for a great favor done to your Lordships' most humble servant,

Abingdon, 27th May, 1644. ESSEX.

This letter, and the feelings which prompted it, would not have tended to lessen the jealousy with which Essex was then regarded, as an avowed advocate for peace and a friend to royalty, which feeling had, but a few days before the above letter was written, caused orders to be sent to him, that if the King, as was then thought probable, threw himself on the protection of Essex, he was to take no steps whatever except by the authority of Parliament; so fearful were they of his giving the King terms which they would think too favourable, but which they might be forced to accept.

That the narrative of Essex's march into the West may not be broken, we will first notice the proceedings of the King and Sir William Waller. Clarendon says, that the sole object of the King was to avoid his enemies. He moved from Worcester to Bewdley, at which place he arrived on the 11th; Waller, having taken Sudeley Castle, being the same day at Evesham. On hearing whither the King was gone, and concluding that he intended to proceed to Shrewsbury, and perhaps join Prince Rupert, who had been sent to relieve York and fight the combined armies, he advanced to Stourbridge. The King immediately retrograded by Worcester and Broadway to Burford; and leaving Oxford on his right, reached Buckingham

on the 22nd, creating great alarm in the associated counties. Waller appears to have made no efforts to overtake the King when he heard of his evasion, but proceeded to Gloucester, and thence to Kineton, at both which places he received reinforcements, and on the 28th was at Banbury. The next day, he attacked the royal army at Cropredy Bridge, and was worsted with considerable loss of men, and eight guns. The King's army drew off the next day to Deddington, and so again to Evesham; while Waller, whose conduct is quite unaccountable, except on the ground that his troops were mutinous, went to Northampton, leaving the King to follow his march unimpeded, although much weaker than himself in men[1] and artillery. Charles proceeded leisurely by Cirencester, Badminton, Bath, Wells, Ilchester, Chard, and Honiton to Exeter, where he arrived on the 26th July, and where we will, for the present, leave him.

On the 8th June, the Committee wrote to Essex that they were very much in the dark, and desired to know, by the bearer, what were his intentions, and what appeared to be those of the enemy. Two days later, when they must have been aware that the two armies were proceeding in execution of the resolutions of the 6th, they again wrote to him, that the House of Commons had resolved that it was more convenient for Waller to go into the West, and for

[1] Waller reported on the 5th June, that the King had 1500 foot and 3000 horse, and on the 17th, that the King was gone to Burford, and, there being nothing for him to do, he was resolved to march immediately into the West. — Letter-Book of the Committee.

him to be employed elsewhere; but that to avoid giving encouragement to the enemy, he was, for the present, to remain where he was. They hoped he had sent a considerable body of horse to relieve Lyme, and begged that, if not already sent, he would do so forthwith.

No. LXVII.[1]

Essex to the Committee.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—By all informations, the city of Oxford was in great want of victuals, and might easily have been reduced, if the present necessity of following the King's flying army and relieving the West could have spared my army and Sir Wm. Waller's forces, but by reason of the rivers less force could not have done it, but would have left some side open for victuals to come in. Your Lordships will understand, by Sir Arthur Heselrigge, that all the King's foot he had left went to Herefordshire, which, in all likelihood, is for Bristol. For raising of horse, I believe Captain Grenvile, with a little encouragement, will be able to make, by his own and Capt. Tyrell's troops, a regiment to be employed as you shall please; but for sending horse from my army till I see what force is like to be raised by the enemy in the West, and Sir Wm. Waller's forces being so far parted that our horse continually decay both with marching and duty, I cannot spare any. The packet for the Prince Elector I have sent, according to your Lordships' commands, to Oxford. Concerning the Northampton forces, I do not know how they may return, but with much danger; and, my Lords, I do desire your Lordships to take it into consideration, that when I departed the city, I was promised my Lord Grey's regiment of horse, and Col. Purefoy's, the

[1] S. P. O.

last of which I was content to spare for Gloucester, but since he is returned home, who your Lordships may please to employ about Oxford, Northampton, or where else, such as are most likely to do service: but I do not understand how it is possible for my horse to break through Prince Maurice, his army of horse and foot; and if they could, and should join with the men of Lyme in pursuit of Prince Maurice, I know not what my army should do without horse the whilst, or how the horse should ever return to my foot again; for if the enemy break down apace, my horse are shut up for ever. I am commanded, therefore, by the discipline of war and rules of reason, to march further with my foot, for fear my horse should receive a blow; I must not retreat, for then the enemy will be encouraged and strengthened. Sir Ralph Hopton will have time to raise men and money, and my foot, who have cheerfully undergone this march for the recovery of the West, will be quite disheartened if once we come to face about; they will certainly be like a routed army, broken all to pieces, and melted after they are broken. Moreover, you are misinformed concerning the strength of the enemy; for there is a party of horse and foot gone to them with monies from Salisbury within these two days, and they may draw out some from Weymouth, Bristol, &c., and make them dragooners, to cut us off in the strait passes, when they perceive we have sent none but horse. The enemy's strength of horse is far beyond that which you speak of, and we hear that Hopton marcheth toward them with some horse and 2000 foot, most of them newly raised. I shall not stand to dispute how well Sir William Waller is beloved in the West; you know something of Bristol and Plymouth. I am sure the Lord Roberts is not hated there; he hath your ordinance for Cornwall. He is the more deeply engaged, because he hath a considerable estate in those parts; and he is entrusted with a higher place in the army than the major of a brigade. He is cordially tender of the good of his

country, and the western gentlemen understand their own interest so well, that they will not be displeased with an army which adventures itself for their relief without putting them to any extraordinary charge. If Sir William Waller go thither, he will indeed free them from paying contribution to the enemy, but will command them to pay contribution to himself; though I know he hath received large sums already from the western gentlemen for the paying of two or three regiments, which have done them but little service as yet, the other regiments under his conduct being paid by the city of London, or the associated counties.

For my own part, I am resolved not to spoil the western countries, because I go to relieve them, and that is, as I conceive, the way to reduce them. I respect not pay, and am ready to serve the State and the West, though it cost me dear: yet I am confident they will not suffer us to perish in their service. Sir William Waller is engaged to look to the associated counties by ordinance of Parliament, and his faith past to those distressed counties. Now there are two considerable garrisons in those counties, Basing and Winchester, which are not yet removed. He will do well to perform what he hath already undertaken, before he undertake a new business. He was engaged in pursuit of the King's army, and his care for the present should be to hinder the levying of forces and raising of monies in Worcestershire; if you think fit to call him off, he will be sooner at Oxford than we can possibly be, and then he may help Major Browne to beleaguer Oxford. When that service is ended, Major Browne may requite him, and help to clear Sir William's associated counties, for Oxford is Sir Wm. Waller's direct way to Basing and Winchester.

Pardon me, if I make bold to order and direct my own major, for in truth I do not see how Sir Wm. Waller can take care of all the counties along the sea side, from Dover

to St. Michael's Mount: he refused to protect a county or two, and said that was only to lie at receipt; and yet he thinks it service honorable enough for his General. If you think fit to set him at liberty and confine me, be pleased to make him General and me the major of some brigade, that my soldiers may have free quarter, free plunder, and fair contributions besides, as his have, without control.

Finally, that army which hath the greatest strength of foot will be most able, by God's blessing, to reduce the West; and I believe that I have the most resolute foot in Christendom. Take heed how you disaffect them, for if you lose them, either by commanding me to lie still, or putting them on ordinary services which are below them, you will repent too late, and I too soon. If you encourage me to advance farther into the West, I hope in a reasonable time to relieve Lyme and distress Weymouth; but if you call back Sir Wm. Waller from pursuing the King, and stop me in my march to the West, we are like to lose the benefit of both armies this summer; because we are put upon cross services, which lie far out of our way, and are denied the benefit of those fair opportunities which God hath put into our hands. Consider what I have said, and if, by following your advice, the West be not reduced, Hopton's army be recruited, Lyme lost, let not the blame be laid upon innocent, though suspected servant,

ESSEX.

June, 1644, six in the morning.

No. LXVIII.[1]

Essex to the Committee.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—In your letters dated May 30th, you desired me to send such a strength to the West as might be able not only to relieve Lyme, but to recover the

[1] S. P. O.

whole West again, by preventing the levies of men and money now raising by a new association in those parts, and this, as you then assured me, was the joint request of the western gentlemen; and, for your satisfaction and theirs, I resolved to march away with my whole army westward,—a strength little enough, in my judgment, to effect what you desired, and I acquainted you with my resolution in my next letters in answer to yours. I conceived that you were not displeased with my march, because you were silent for eight days together, and your silence seemed to me no less than an approbation; but now I am marched up as far as Blandford in Dorsetshire, you direct me to make a stand, and send away a considerable party of horse for the relief of Lyme. Give me leave to believe you are uninformed of late, or else I had not received such an unexpected countermand, after my unwearied endeavours in the pursuance of such instructions as I received from your own hands.

For, first, Lyme cannot be relieved by a party, and if it could, that party must principally consist of foot, for horse can do very little service in those narrow passages; yet, contrary to my own opinion, and the judgment of the Council of War, I have sent some horse, and you shall see cause; for the Northampton troop, although they be civil men, and pass upon their duty, yet, if your Lordships will be pleased to recall them, upon notice thereof from your Lordships, I shall discharge them. Concerning that information of the King's drawing towards Northampton, there is little danger of that, seeing they are gone quite another way. Whereas you intended to send ammunition to Aylesbury, I now desire, as I have formerly written, that ammunition and money, which I much need, may be sent to Southampton, whence, by the help of Col. Norton, it may be safely conveyed to me, which I earnestly desire to have. Your Lordships' humble servant,

Lamborne, 10th June, 1644, on my march. ESSEX.

No. LXIX.[1]

Essex to the Committee.

My Lords and Gentlemen, — Although I have just grounds to conceive that what benefit soever is received by me or this army would be but little valued, yet nothing shall make me neglect my duty, which makes me acquaint your Lordships that the town of Lyme, which has shewed so great constancy and valor in maintaining their obedience to the Parliament, is now relieved. In what extremity they were, your Lordships may perceive, by the copy of the letter I received from the Earl of Warwick, which is here inclosed.

As I was marching to Amesbury on the 11th of this instant, I sent the General and Lieut.-General of the horse, hearing that the enemy was possessed of Salisbury, where they put them in such a fright that they never staid till they came to Blandford, to which place I sent the Lieut.-General and Commissary-General of the horse, with near 1000 horse; but they being sent out in the night, one regiment of the strongest, not being in the way, did not come till the fight was done: but 400 of my horse put the Queen's regiment, and others that made up near 1500, as all in these parts report it, to such a plight, as that they ran to this town; but the townsmen, who are exceeding well affected to the Parliament, kept them out, and they never staid till they came to Sherborne. My Lords, I have only one humble request to your Lordships, that you will give my Lord Admiral encouragement for his great and indefatigable care he has taken for that town of Lyme, which has been a great means of the preservation of it.

My Lords, I never came in any parts in my life where I found more real expressions of their affections, and doubt not

[1] S. P. O.

that if I may have no hindrance from above, I shall quickly reduce these parts to the Parliament's service. Your Lordships by this time know, that from whence Sir Wm. Waller is, that, notwithstanding your directions to him, both Lyme would have been lost and an army raised before he would have come for the relief of the one or the prevention of the other. And, for my sending a party of horse for the relief of Lyme, whosoever gave your Lordships that information were in a great error, it being an impossible thing to have been done. My Lords, I am your LL.'s humble servant,

Dorchester, 16th June, 1644, past one in the morning. ESSEX.

This letter was acknowledged by the Committee on the 12th June, when they gave the General orders to march into Oxfordshire and straiten Oxford, to facilitate its fall, for which purpose they were preparing forces in London. They must have been aware that he would be too far advanced to obey these directions without the worst result. His next letter is a reply to theirs of the 10th June, and contains an indignant remonstrance against the treatment he has experienced.

Prince Maurice had not awaited an attack from Essex; on the 15th June, having information that that nobleman was at Dorchester, he raised the siege of Lyme, and retired to Exeter.

Within a few days afterwards, Weymouth, Melcombe Regis, and Sarfoot Castle, were surrendered by the Royalists, and Essex wrote a letter to the Speaker of the House of Lords, giving, in detail, reasons why his army should not be recalled from advancing into the West; and, said he, "if, after all

" my sad consultations, faithful endeavours, and, by " God's blessing, happy success, you shall call me " back as one that is not fit to be trusted any " further in a business of such high concernment, " I will come and sit in Parliament, as not knowing " any military employment which is worthy of my " presence." The unanimous opinion of a joint Council of War of land and sea officers was, that it would be exceedingly prejudicial to the cause were he to retreat.

There was a good deal of angry debating on this subject, in the course of which his friends insinuated that more care was taken of Waller's army than of the Lord General's, and that the necessary supplies were purposely withheld from the latter; while the opposite party asserted that Lyme might have been relieved by a party of horse, without the whole army being carried so far. In the end, it was resolved that he should proceed to follow up the advantages he had gained, and the resolution was made known to him in the following severe letter of reprimand.

No. LXX.[1]

The Speakers of both Houses of Parliament to Essex.

My Lord,—We are commanded by the two Houses of Parliament to acquaint your Lordship, that the Committee of both Kingdoms have reported to them the designs of carrying on the war, with the letters sent to your Lordship in prosecution of those designs, and the several answers; and that they are of opinion, if the resolution of the Houses and

[1] Rushworth, vi. 683.

the direction of the Committee of both Kingdoms had been followed, the public affairs had been in a better condition than now they are, especially in these parts.

And we are also to let your Lordship know, that, in your letters to the Committee of both Kingdoms, of the 14th, 16th, and 17th of this instant June, and that other to the Houses, there are many expressions might well have been forborne, and do not question but you do now wish they had not been written.

But to make the best use of their affairs as they now stand, they find themselves necessitated to use new counsels, and would have your Lordship to take all advantages on the enemy, and use your best endeavours for reducing the West.

And although they find themselves much discomposed by your Lordship's going into the West, in respect of the pay of the army, yet the Houses are in present consideration thereof[1], and will endeavour to settle it to the satisfaction of both armies, and do expect that such directions as your Lordship shall from time to time receive from them, or the Committee of both Kingdoms, be for the future observed. And this being all we are commanded to signify unto your Lordship, we remain, my Lord, your Lordship's humble servants,

GREY OF WARKE.

6th July, 1644. W. LENTHAL.

[1] On the 3rd July, 20,000*l.*, with shoes and other supplies, were sent to Arundel to be shipped from Portsmouth for the use of Lord Essex's army.

CHAPTER XVII.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX—*continued.*

GOOD CONDUCT AND DISCIPLINE OF ESSEX'S ARMY COMPARED WITH OTHERS. — THE QUEEN LEAVES EXETER. — LETTERS REPORTING THE ADVANCE INTO DEVONSHIRE. — THE COUNCIL OF WAR DETERMINES TO GO INTO CORNWALL. — ESSEX IS PURSUED BY THE KING. — MOVEMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ESSEX. — THE KING WRITES TO ESSEX. — BLOCKADE OF THE REBEL ARMY IN LESTWITHIEL AND FOWEY. — CAPITULATION.

ONE of the causes of complaint which Lord Essex had against Sir William Waller, was, what he termed, raising contributions from the country, — in other words, plundering. We have already seen how careful Essex was to mitigate the horrors and miseries of war in this respect, even to the occasional discontenting of his troops; and we have it on the authority of Lord Clarendon, that by "his great "civility and affability towards all men, and the "very good discipline in his army, he wrought "very much upon the people, insomuch that his "forces rather increased than diminished. It can "hardly be imagined how great a difference there "was in the humor, disposition, and manner of the "army under Essex, and the other under Waller, in "their behaviour and humanity towards the people, "and, consequently, in the reception they found "among them." It is not at all improbable that,

among his other reasons for undertaking the Western service himself, Essex may have been influenced by a desire to spare the inhabitants of that part of the country, as yet comparatively untouched, from the tender mercies of Waller and his "ungentlemanly "and barbarous" troops.

The Queen had some time previously been sent to Exeter for security, where, on the 16th June, she gave birth to a Princess.[1] On hearing of the advance of Essex, she sent to him for a safe-conduct to Bath or Bristol; to which he replied, that if Her Majesty pleased, he would not only give her a safe-conduct, but accompany her himself to London, where she might have the best advice for her health, but as for the other places, without directions from the Parliament, he could not comply with Her Majesty's desires. Henrietta declined to avail herself of the Earl's obliging offer, and shortly afterwards proceeded to Falmouth, and embarked for France.

The letters of Lord Essex will best relate his proceedings during his advance towards Exeter.

No. LXXI.[2]

Essex to the Committee of both Kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—Part of the enemy's forces having been against Barnstaple, the success whereof your Lordships will see by the enclosed, hath caused me to send a party of horse and foot for their relief, and I am advancing with the rest of the body myself to Tiverton, and so to steer my course according to the intelligence I have from them.

[1] Afterwards Duchess of Orleans.

[2] S. P. O.

Her Majesty has left Exeter, and, as my intelligence is, bends for Pendennis Castle, and Prince Maurice has left Kerton, and goes farther towards Cornwall. Unless necessity compels me, I shall be forced to stay some short time hereabouts, to raise the country, and to furnish the army with what your Lordships have said is coming down; wherein I intend to expect their love, rather than use much exaction, knowing that it is much more for the service of the Parliament to gain their affection, than using any compulsory way. I find a great affection in the country to the Parliament, and to free themselves from their Egyptian slavery; but there is a great want of arms, and the gentlemen being not yet come down from London, which would be a great encouragement to them. Here is yet but few of the gentlemen of power, but Col. Were, whom I find both very ready and well beloved in the county. In a short time I shall be ready to give you a more exact account of our affairs than now I can. Your humble servant,

Collumpton, 3rd July, 1644. ESSEX.

No. LXXII.[1]

Essex to the Committee of both Kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—Although the counties of Somerset and Devon shew great affection for the Parliament, and to be rid of the Egyptian slavery, yet there are two things great hindrances to the aid we should have of the country. The first is their desire to serve under their own countrymen, and not to be listed in my army, and those few country gentlemen that are here wanting arms to arm them; so that although there be multitudes of bodies of men appear, yet little use can be made of them for the present, till arms and the gentlemen who have the power over them be come

[1] S. P. O.

down. The second is, the garrisons of the enemy keep the country greatly in awe, both for hindering of contribution, and their rising in Somersetshire, Bristol, Bridgewater, Castle of Taunton, and Castle of Dunster. For the preventing of these inconveniences I have taken the best care I can, my army being much divided; the Lord Roberts being still with three regiments of foot and two of horse at Barnstaple; a regiment of foot and a troop of horse at Weymouth; Sir Robt. Pye with three troops of horse at Taunton, to secure Lieut. Col. Blake in raising of Col. Popham's regiment, and to prevent mischief by the castle. Sir Robt. Pye, with his great care and industry, hath reduced the Castle of Taunton. I shall forbear to write any particulars of it to you, herein being enclosed the articles of surrender, and what was found in the castle; it being so well provided, that, next to the blessing of God, nothing but their own panic fears could have made us masters of it, which is of great concernment to us, it being the only strength we have in these two counties. As soon as the convoy is returned which is sent to Lyme for the money, I hope we shall give a good account of our forwardness to serve the Parliament, and not to neglect any care or hazard that may reduce these parts to the full subjection of the Parliament.

Until of late, that necessity hath pressed the army for want of pay, I am confident never people suffered less by an army whilst I could make any shift for their subsistence; but I must confess this country hath suffered somewhat of late for want of the soldiers' pay; but now money is coming down, I doubt not but the countries will find it rather an ease than a burthen by the army. When the convoy brought those few to Bridgewater which were left, the commanders there sent out this scandalous relation concerning the armies in the North, by which you may see they have no way to keep their plundering army on foot, but by raising those lying

reports; and yet that part which concerns Cols. Popham and Ludlow, though the strength they are said to have was false, yet the want was too true: the design I was ignorant of, I never having heard from them since Sir Will. Waller's brigade and I parted. My Lords, I must crave pardon for my tediousness, and rest your humble servant,

Tiverton, 10th July, 1644. ESSEX.

No. LXXIII.[1]

Essex to the Committee of both Kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I must take it as a great favor from you the importing to me the news of the great victory[2] obtained in the North, which is a great comfort to all honest men, and a terror to the malignant. And yet they have the impudence to make triumphs in all their quarters, especially at Exeter, and give it out that the triumph which I made here was only to deceive the country. Whereupon I sent them the information that came from his Excy. the Earl of Leven and the rest of the commanders-in-chief there, with this offer to Sir John Berkeley and the rest of the Council of War at Exeter, that if their news proved true of the routing of our forces the 2nd of this month, I would pass my honor to deliver up Weymouth and Melcombe Regis into their hands, so that the chief commanders in the West would engage themselves, upon their honors, that if Prince Rupert were routed the same day, they would deliver into my hands, for the Parliament's use, Exeter; which I sent yesterday by a trumpeter, being our public day of thanksgiving, who is not yet returned—I being unwilling to

[1] S. P. O.

[2] The great victory was that of Marston Moor, fought on the 2nd July, in which Prince Rupert was defeated with immense loss by the English and Scots armies under Manchester, Fairfax, and Leven.

let that false report be spread in these parts, knowing that they have no other way to keep up their party, but by spreading of those false rumours to uphold their courage.

The 20,000*l.* is come safe to the army, and if, by your Lordships' care, the army be provided with continual pay, I doubt not but to give a very good account both of our actions against the enemy, and civility to our friends, which otherwise, let the officers take what care they can, soldiers cannot be kept from plundering. Necessity hath compelled us to stay a longer time here than we intended, as well for the extremity the soldiers were in for want of pay after their long and continual marches, and my army being so divided for the assistance of the country, and in hope the gentlemen would have come down to assure those counties with raising of forces, whilst I was in other parts; for whilst I am marching farther up into Devonshire, Sir Ralph Hopton would be at liberty to raise forces in Somerset and Dorset: but if any of the Somersetshire gentlemen would come down, I am confident that county would quickly shew their affections to the Parliament. Whereas information was given that upon the relief of Lyme, there would be 1000 or 1200 to join with this army, the regiments of Col. Popham and Col. Were were not above 200 men in all. I find the counties generally willing, but their hindrance is want of arms. Upon the hanging of Capt. Howard taken at Barnstaple, (formerly employed under Capt. Pym, who had a troop in the west county,) who, being a lieutenant, ran away with twenty horse at one time, they hanged Capt. Turpin on Saturday, a sea captain taken in seeking to relieve Exeter, and since condemned by Justice Heath[1], by *oyer* and *terminer*, but had been held a prisoner ever since; and at my being

[1] Chief Justice Heath was impeached by the Commons on the receipt of this letter.

here they sent to exchange him for Sergeant-Major Willis, which exchange was so unreasonable as I refused it, not thinking they had been so bloody-minded to execute a man in cold blood that had been so long condemned. I am informed it was by Prince Maurice's command; but, if it please God, I may have time to make them repent it. My Lords, if your Lordships would take it into your care to have Col. Weyms speedily exchanged, it would be a great advantage to Sir Will. Waller's army, which otherwise his train of artillery may be in some disorder. And, besides, I have had very good intelligence that when he was brought to the King, he told him he had not as yet disposed of his place, which makes me believe that no act will be left untried to win him to them. And though I hope his own honor will preserve him, yet a man of his abilities is not to be lost. My Lords, to end where I began, with the great blessing of which God has given us in the North, it is not one of the least comforts that this blessing befel us where the forces of the two kingdoms were united together. My Lords, I am your humble servant,

Tiverton, 15th July, 1644. ESSEX.

My Lords,—The garrison at Wareham were very forward, and marched very far into the country both with horse and foot; but the Governor of Weymouth fell upon them after they had come to the turnpikes of Dorchester, killed and took about eight score of them, whereof six or eight were mere Irish rebels, which he has since hanged, and is gone before Wareham; but I have advised him, in seeking to take that, he should not neglect the care of Weymouth.

The following reply was made by Sir John Berkely to the proposal of Essex.

No. LXXIV.[1]

Sir John Berkely to Essex.

My Lord,—In the posture we are, it is very possible I may be deceived in our intelligence, and, considering the practice of some, not impossible but your Lordship may be. I am confident your Lordship hath no intention to abuse the people; I am most sure I have not. It must be acknowledged your news is very unpleasant to men of my affection, and will not prove very prosperous to those of your Lordship, if I am not mistaken in them, or my arguments of them. I still incline to believe our own, but not to that degree of difference as there is between Exeter and Weymouth; however, I shall receive the assurance of either with the most equal mind, and in the worst event shall never want the satisfaction of having discharged my duty to my country with an heart as much untouched by private ends as any man's living, and as much your loving humble servant,

JOHN BERKELY.

On the 16th and 17th July, the Committee wrote to Essex informing him that the King had marched westward, and that they had directed Sir William Waller to send a strong detachment towards Dorchester. On receiving this, Essex must have felt secure that the hopes which he expressed in the following letter were realised, and that he might safely march westward without fear of being cut off.

No. LXXV.[2]

Essex to the Committee.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—My Lord Roberts returned from Barnstaple yesternight, and we were resolved to have

[1] Rushworth, vi. 686. [2] S. P. O.

marched this day toward Prince Maurice, and so westward; but upon notice the King was come to Bath, a council of war was called yesternight, and had a long and serious debate, whether we should continue in our former resolutions, or turn back and march towards the King. It seemed a business of so great consequence, that we staid here this day to take it into consideration, and for further intelligence; but having little more of the last to ground upon, we have taken resolution to continue our former purposes, having had several messages from Plymouth of the great distress they are likely to be in if not suddenly relieved, being in great want of money to pay their soldiers and forage for their horses, which are kept in by the enemy from going abroad; hoping that Sir Wm. Waller with his army and additional forces will take care of the King's army. And if I returned, all these parts would have turned against us. Now these armies are all in these parts, little contribution can be expected; therefore I hope your Lordships will take care for the present pay of the army that it may subsist, otherwise we shall be brought into present extremities. I hope there shall be nothing left undone by us, that may give real testimony of our true hearts and readiness to adventure our lives in the service of the Parliament. I have sent your Lordships here inclosed a letter I have received from the Earl of Forth, a paper, and mine answer to it. My Lords, I am your Lordships' humble servant,

Tiverton, 18th July, 1644. ESSEX.

I believe by my going farther westward, the passage will be straitened for expresses, whereby I shall not be able to send to your Lordships so often as I would.

The letter from the Earl of Forth enclosed a copy of a message from the King to the Houses, containing propositions for peace, the original of which,

it was intimated to Essex, was placed in the hands of the French agent for delivery. Notwithstanding this, the House of Commons, on the flimsy ground that they only received a copy of the message, refused to consider it, and took no notice whatever of its having been forwarded to them.

Prince Maurice had retreated before the approach of Essex; the latter made a feint from Tiverton, as if he would return towards the King, which drew Maurice east again, and he suffered some loss in a skirmish between Oakhampton and Exeter.

In the mean time, Lord Hopton had joined the King, and information arrived that the united force was marching westward. The Council of War assembled at the head-quarters of Lord Essex to consider these three points; whether he should march to encounter the King; whether he should sit down before Exeter; or whether he should proceed to relieve Plymouth, and thence into Cornwall. They decided upon the last, because, if Grenvile, who was before Plymouth, were routed, the King could get no recruits there; because, Cornwall being Lord Roberts' country, it was probable great numbers would come in to Essex; and lastly, because it was supposed that Waller, or some other force, was sent into the West, in the King's rear, and would cut him off. The last reason was undoubtedly good, and had such a force been sent as Essex desired, and as the Committee informed him they had ordered, the result would have been very different.

At the same time, considering the jealousy that

then existed between the extreme party in Parliament and Essex — the former believing that Essex had resolved not to fight any more against the person of the King — that General cannot be acquitted of great want of caution in marching into a *cul-de-sac* before he had accurate intelligence that Waller was on the King's track. On the other hand, it seems extremely probable that the Parliament purposely kept back that force, in order that Essex might be compelled to fight the King, little dreaming how great an injury they were inflicting on themselves.

This view is borne out by Lord Holles[1], who tells us that the violent faction, having failed in an endeavour to win Essex by large and splendid promises, if he would unite himself to the "godly party," were resolved to ruin him; that when Essex proceeded to the relief of Lyme, and sent Waller after the King, some of that party went so far as to say, that it were better Lord Essex and his whole army should be lost than that the Parliament should be disobeyed, and that, if they could prevent it, neither he nor his army should be cared for any more. Therefore, the Committee of both Kingdoms, in which they had a majority, were, for a long time, inattentive to the repeated demands of Essex for a diversion to be made in his favour, by pressing the rear of the King's army, which might easily have been done in time to save him, and "did most wilfully, maliciously "and treacherously, suffer General and army to be "lost."

[1] Mem. of Denzil Lord Holles, in Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars, p. 265.

No. LXXVI.[1]

Essex to the Committee of both Kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I being drawn to this place for the relief of Plymouth, which by God's blessing is now relieved, and being advised to march yet further westward into Cornwall to clear that county, and to settle the same in peace, I have thought fit to send you Sir Philip Stapleton, and with him Mr. Herbert, one of the commissioners appointed for my army, to give you an account both of the condition of my army, and of the state of these western counties; and I shall desire you to advise with them in the recommending of such things unto the House, as you shall think requisite for the advancement of the service.

My Lords, in the night I received your Lordships' letters[2] concerning Guernsey and Jersey, and am ready with my life and force to act for their relief; but in regard of my great distance and the condition of things here, I refer it to those gentlemen to inform your Lordships further therein.

My Lord, your humble servant,

Tavistock, 26th July, 1644. ESSEX.

On the day the above letter was written, King Charles arrived at Exeter, where he was joined by Prince Maurice; their united forces amounted to about 8500 foot, and 5000 horse, with which he immediately pushed on, after a day's rest, in order to destroy the army of Lord Essex before the expected arrival of Sir William Waller. He advanced by Oakhampton, Lifton, and Trecarrol, to Liskeard, where he arrived on the 6th August.

On the approach of Essex, Sir Richard Grenvile

[1] S. P. O.

[2] Of the 17th July.

had raised the siege of Plymouth, and retired into Cornwall, whither the Earl, misled, as appears from the next letters, by false information, followed, in expectation that the country would rise in favour of the Parliament, whereas it proved that, with few exceptions, Cornwall was entirely Royalist. He then, for the reasons which he assigns, retired from Bodmin to Lestwithiel.

No. LXXVII.[1]

Essex to the Committee of both Kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—After the relief of Plymouth, having no committees sent down from the Parliament to advise us what course we might take to be most beneficial for their service, we called a council of war to consult about it, and by the persuasions of the western men assuring us there was no other way of reducing the West to the obedience of the Parliament than by clearing of Cornwall, and they undertaking that we should want no victuals, and that a great part of the country stood well affected, we marched to Bodmin. But hearing of three armies against us, the King, Palsgrave Maurice, and Hopton marching from the East, and nobody that we can learn attending on them; the county unanimously, unless some few gentlemen, rising against us, we must expect another upon our backs from the West; and the soldiers' great necessity for wanting bread, hath forced us to choose this place to make good till we can be provided with victuals from Plymouth or hereabouts to enable us to march, and then we shall sell our lives at as dear a rate as may be, never seeing soldiers more willing to undertake any thing, nor to undergo their wants with more

[1] S. P. O.

patience. There is some flying report in the county that Sir Wm. Waller should be advancing into these parts; but understanding by your last letters of the 17th of last month, that your Lordships had appointed him to send only a party, and that to advance no further than Dorchester, makes us that we can trust in nothing at present but God's blessing, the courage of our officers and soldiers, and our faithfulness to the cause. Your Lordships' humble servant,

Lestwithiel, 4th August, 1644. ESSEX.

We learn from the Journals of Parliament, that on the 17th July[1], a letter had been read from Waller, stating his intention to march to the West in pursuit of the King, and that the Houses ordered that he should not do so. As the army of Sir William Waller, after his defeat at Cropredy Bridge, became disorganized, a mutiny breaking out, and men deserting in numbers, while the City regiments returned home on the 12th, I am inclined to suppose this letter was intended to deceive the Essex party, and that he was well aware he would be prohibited from moving.

It was not until the middle of August, when letters arrived from Essex showing but too clearly the difficulties he was in, that, too late to be of any service, General Middleton was despatched with about 2500 horse, and orders to straiten the King's quarters, and to divert his forces, to assist the Lord General, and keep up a communication with him.

[1] Both Waller and Middleton wrote letters to the Parliament, in which they called "the God of Heaven to witness that they desired nothing so much as to march to the relief of the Western army;" yet they did not move.—Whitelocke, 101, 102.

Waller, who was at the same time ordered to prepare to march into the West, answered that he was willing to march, but wanted horses. These orders were given on the 23rd; on the 28th Middleton was at Honiton. The Earl of Manchester was at the same time ordered to draw to the southward to support the movement. Had this been done at the beginning instead of the end of August, it is probable the King might have been crushed in the West, as completely as his army was destroyed in the North; but it was then too late.

As the indignities which Essex had sustained from his employers were publicly known, Charles determined to make an attempt to detach him from the cause of the Parliament. With his own hand he wrote such a letter to the Earl, that for him to have entered into some further correspondence would certainly have been pardonable; nothing can more strongly demonstrate the rigid sense of honour, and unswerving conduct of the Earl of Essex, than his reception of this letter, under all the circumstances of his ardent desire for peace, and his sensitive feeling that Manchester and Waller had been unduly favoured, and his own authority ill-supported. He appears rather to have been affronted at an attempt to tamper with him, and answered sullenly, "That "according to his commission, he would defend the "King's person and posterity, and the best advice he "could give him was to go to his Parliament." Lord Essex's nephew was the bearer of the letter.

No. LXXVIII.[1]

Essex to the Speaker of the House of Lords.

Right Honorable, — My Lord Beauchamp going for France, desired to see me before he went; and, at his coming, brought me this enclosed letter from the King, to which I answered, that as I had received my trust from both Houses of Parliament, so I could not give any answer without their direction; and touching that passage of His Majesty for preparation by my Lord of Hertford's letter, I received none; but when my sister Hertford wrote to me about her son's journey, she sent me the copy of that which the King sent to the Parliament by the French agent, and was sent me by my Lord of Forth, which I also sent to the Committee of both Kingdoms.

I have not time to write more, we having the forces of the King, Prince Maurice, and Lord Hopton before us, and Sir Richd. Greenvile behind us, and may be joined ere this come to Foy. As there shall any thing happen, I shall give your Lordships advertisement. My Lord, I am your humble servant, ESSEX.

Lestwithiel, 8th Aug. 1644.

I have sent you here inclosed a letter we cannot decipher.

No. LXXIX.[2]

The King to Essex (enclosure).

Essex,—I have been very willing to believe, that whenev there should be such a conjuncture, as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable kingdom, which all good men desire, you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you; you have it at this time in your power

[1] Lords' Journal, vi. 670. [2] Ibid.

to redeem your country and the crown, and to oblige your King in the highest degree; an action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence, and honor that may be, and such an opportunity as perhaps no subject before you ever had, or after you shall have, to which there is no more required, but that you join with me heartily and really, in the settling of those things which we have both professed constantly to be our only aims.

Let us do this, and if any be so foolishly unnatural as to oppose their King's, their country's, and their own good, we will make them happy, by God's blessing, even against their wills.

To this, the only impediment can be, want of mutual confidence. I promise it to you on my part; and as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours by my letter to Hertford from Evesham, I hope this will perfect it, when, as I here do, I have engaged to you the word of a King, that you joining with me in that blessed work, I shall give both to you and your army such eminent marks of my confidence and value, as shall not leave a room for the least distrust amongst you, either in relation to the public or to yourself, unto whom I shall then be, your faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whom I have fully instructed in particulars; but this will admit of no delay. C. R.

Liskeard, 6th August, 1644.

The King, on finding Essex obstinate in his refusal to treat, called a council of war, to decide whether he should force the Earl to fight; it was determined to await the junction of Sir Richard Grenvile, in the mean time pushing forward the horse to straiten the quarters of the Earl. This was

done on the following day, and the King removed his head quarters to Boconnoc, a house belonging to Lord Mohun, within three miles of Lestwithiel. From that place another attempt was made to open a negotiation with Essex by the principal officers of the royal army, which has excited the indignation of Lord Clarendon, although the promoters obtained the sanction of the King.[1]

This letter was enclosed in the following one from the two generals of the King's army, and sent over with a trumpet to the Earl at Lestwithiel.

No. LXXX.[2]

Prince Maurice and the Earl of Brentford to Essex.

My Lord,—Notwithstanding the small satisfaction His Majesty hath received from your Lordship to his late letter, he is yet pleased to give us and the commanders and officers of both armies leave to send to your Lordship this enclosed, with the assurance that this shall serve for a safe-conduct to all such persons as shall be appointed by your Lordship to meet us as desired. Your Lordship's humble servants,

MAURICE.

Boconnoc, 9th August, 1644. BRENTFORD.

The enclosed letter, which was signed by eighty-six officers of the royal armies, after stating that the King's leave had been obtained to send that letter, hinted that doubts of the King's sincerity in the

[1] The King's consent to this letter was obtained with difficulty; it appears to have originated with Wilmot and other mutinous and disaffected persons in the royal army.—See Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 583., note.

[2] Lords' Journal, vi. 671.

performance of his promises, was the cause of Essex's refusal to treat with him; and they declare, on their faith and honour, their resolution to maintain with their lives whatever the King shall promise. They desired that Essex and six others should meet their General with an equal number, to consider the means of reconciling the national quarrel.

To this the Earl returned the following concise reply.

No. LXXXI.[1]

Essex to Prince Maurice and the Earl of Forth.

My Lords,—In the beginning of your letter, you express by what authority you send it. I, having no power from the Parliament who employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust. Your humble servant,

Lestwithiel, 10th Aug., 1644. ESSEX.

Had Lord Essex been a less scrupulous traveller in the paths of truth and honour, and by entering into a negotiation at this time, turned the tables on those who were betraying him, it is difficult to imagine what might have been the result. Since the victory of Marston Moor, the Independents had spoken more openly, and had shown that their views extended to the abolition of monarchy and nobility, and had thus widened the breach between themselves and the moderate party; that is, all who desired to reform, but not to overturn,—a definition which included very many of the King's adherents. The

[1] Lords' Journal, vi. 671. Essex addressed the Earl of Forth, as though he did not recognise the title of Earl of Brentford, newly conferred on him.

Scots had also discovered that, in the eyes of the "godly," a Presbyterian was but little better than an Episcopalian. The country, harassed and impoverished, longed for peace. There was one stumbling-block in the King's way, ever recurring and forcing itself on the minds of men, which, probably more than any army the Parliament could bring into the field, obstructed his approach to that desired goal; the doubt whether any promise, however solemn, any stipulation, however binding, would be faithfully adhered to by Charles the King, when firmly re-seated on his throne.

Well might the Parliament, on the receipt of these letters, vote their thanks to the General for his fidelity in this affair, conscious as they must have been, how ill his honourable conduct had been requited.

On the approach of Sir Richard Grenvile from the West, shortly after the above correspondence had passed, the combined operations for the blockade of Lord Essex were carried on with greater vigour than might have been anticipated, from the quarrels and jealousies that existed among the royal commanders. The two following letters from the Earl recount his proceedings.

No. LXXXII.[1]

Essex to the Committee.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—The last letter I received from your Lordships was of the 17th of the last month, since

[1] S. P. O.

which time I have made several despatches to you, and shall omit no occasion whereby I may shew obedience to the Parliament. The two last letters were sent by the way of my Lord Admiral. The first was His Majesty's letter to me, the second was that from all the officers of the King's army; and now I send you the originals of some scattered papers that were thrown upon the heath by the enemy's horse. Braver men than are here I never knew, this army being environed by four armies, in great want of victuals, and the county consists so upon passes, that we can neither force them to fight but when they list, nor march off. And for aught I can perceive, their intention is to starve us; yet both horse and foot keep their courage and constancy, for all the great extremity they are put to. The foot as yet never came to fight on either side; but for our horse, they skirmish daily, and we beat them, though they be three for one. Intelligence we have none, the country people being so violent against us, that if any of our scouts or soldiers light in their hands, they are more bloody than the enemy. What forces come to the enemy's assistance, we can never come to have notice of; here are some skippers that are newly taken that are come from the coast of Brittany, who speak of 14,000 or 15,000 men preparing there to come over, but I can give but little credit to it, knowing how the French are engaged in war; only the King staying in this country, and forsaking all the rest of his counties, that he hath some foreign hopes either from France or Ireland. If any forces had followed the King, as we expected when we came into these parts, by human reason this war would have had a quick end; but since we are left to the providence of God, I cannot despair of His mercy, having found so much of it in our greatest straits. My Lords, I am your Lordships' humble servant,

Lestwithiel, 16th Aug. 1644. ESSEX.

No. LXXXIII.[1]

Essex to the Committee.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—The time I have now will not permit me to write long lines; but because I know not what reports may be made, I have thought fit to despatch the messenger to your Lordships with this only.

The enemy on Wednesday last set upon us in several quarters, gained nothing, but possessed themselves of an house and an old castle[2], which some Devonshire foot quitted without dispute; not very considerable, but that it causeth the duty to be harder. The Sergeant Major-General, endeavouring to regain the castle with some of my own foot, who behaved themselves as bravely as ever I saw men, was shot through his buff coat by the short ribs without any hurt, thanks be to God; and with another shot he had his glove torn, and the skin of his hand only raised. Yesterday there was little done, only some pelting in some of the guards. The enemy has now made a work, and boasts they will beat us out of our quarters; but, by the mercy of God, who has been so often abundantly gracious to us, and in whom we trust, what they get of us shall be at so dear a rate that they will be much weakened. Our soldiers, both horse and foot, are very cheerful and resolute. I marched into these parts by the advice and at the desire of some in this army that are of this country and also of Plymouth, and for no ends of my own, and had there been forces awaiting on the King, I should not have doubted of giving a good account of the war, had they been but 4000 horse and dragoons. But besides the King's army, with Hopton's coming up to Prince Maurice and Grenvile, the country itself is exceedingly malignant, that they add much to the

[1] S. P. O.

[2] Restormel.

enemy's strength. This country is full of passes, which causeth the duty to be much the harder. Whereas it was reported that the Plymouth forces were 1500, they are not above 600 foot, and between 200 and 300 horse; all these foot I am fain to quarter at Fowey and thereabouts, with some of their horse for guarding of provisions. If there come not forces, this army will be in much hazard, for besides the powerful enemy we have to deal withal, we are to keep Fowey and the passages of the river. The ways in this country being so strait, and no turnings for an army, that they who are first in them must either beat the other and make their way through, or be starved. This messenger very diligently came hither with his letters when the enemy was first drawing down to us, and has been an eyewitness of all that hath happened since, and is able to give your Lordships an account thereof. There came another at the same time who had lately expressed himself concerning the backwardness of this army, but before he had scarce delivered his message, he went his way without taking leave.

Your Lordships' humble servant,

Lestwithiel, 23rd Aug., 1644. ESSEX.

Grenvile had taken possession of a seat of Lord Roberts', about three miles above Lestwithiel, called Lanhydroc, and also of Resprin Bridge, by which he communicated with the royal head-quarters at Boconnoc.

On the East, the King commanded all the passages over the river from Boconnoc to Fowey, and gained possession, without fighting, of a house of Lord Mohun's facing the town, and of a small fort on the eastern promontory of the river mouth, commanding the entrance, which was only half a musket-shot

across. These important posts had been evacuated by a rebel detachment on the approach of the Royalists.

In another letter Essex writes, that from Wednesday, the 21st, to Friday, the 30th of August, his troops were in continual fight on the west, and always repulsed the attacks of the enemy; but, nevertheless, the material advantages were on the King's side, whose cavalry had extended from St. Blazey to Polkerris, and threatened the communication between Lestwithiel and Fowey.

Tidings arrived that the forces coming to his relief had been defeated; a check received by Middleton near Bridgewater, had been thus magnified, and all hope of succour was destroyed. Their forage was almost consumed; provisions for but a few days remained. Essex resolved that the horse, 2500 in number, under Sir William Balfour, should force their way through the King's army. Goring, the General of the King's horse, was in the midst of a debauch with his boon companions, when intimation was brought to him of the march of Balfour, with orders for him to pursue the fugitives. He treated the alarm with ridicule, and the orders with contempt; so that the daring feat of breaking through the enemy's lines, was executed with scarcely the interruption of a musket-shot during the night of the 30th.

On the 31st, the infantry retreated from Lestwithiel to Fowey; the rear-guard commanded by Skippon was fighting all day with the royal troops, which marched in pursuit, as soon as it was known that

Essex had evacuated Lestwithiel. Notwithstanding all his gallantry, the Major-General was forced to abandon four guns on the retreat. On the west, however, matters were in a far worse condition; for the regiments of Colonels Weare and Butler had taken to flight, and left Menabilley undefended.

On the morning of Sunday, the 1st of September, Mr. Dean came to the Earl of Essex, "two hours "after day, and told me that, if they should offer to "move any of the army from their posts, they would "never stand, and that he thought they should all be "surrounded before noon. Upon these considerations "I thought it fit to look to myself, it being a greater "terror to me to be a slave to their contempts, than "a thousand deaths."[1]

Sending to the Major-General a recommendation to retire to the posts of Menabilley and Polkerris, or, if he were unable to do so, to make the best terms he could, Essex, accompanied by Lord Roberts and some other officers, embarked in a boat at Fowey, and proceeded to Plymouth.

No. LXXXIV.[2]

Essex to General Skippon.

Sir,—I had sent to you before this, but that the wind blew so stiff no boat can put to sea; but I write this, that upon the first opportunity it may come to your hands. Sir, be assured no worldly thing should have made me quit so gallant men, but the impossibility of subsisting after I heard

[1] Letter of Essex to Sir Ph. Stapleton, in Rushworth, vi. 703.
[2] Ibid. 704.

that those regiments I put most trust in, namely, my own, the Lord Roberts', and Colonel Butler's, had quitted their posts on Gallant side, and so that way was opened for the enemy to cut off all provisions from you that should come from Menabilley Bay and Polkerris; and that you were unable, according to my desire, to draw up thither, for fear your men should quit their colors, if moved. Sir, if you live, I shall take as great care of you as of my father, if alive; if God otherwise dispose of you, as long as I have a drop of blood, I shall strive to revenge yours on the causers of it. The horse are come safe; nothing but fear of slavery and to be triumphed on, should have made us have gone. Sir, I am yours till death,

Plymouth, 2nd Sept., 1644. ESSEX.

P. S.—Upon notice that you subsist, and how long you can, no hazard shall be let slip.

General Skippon had not waited to hear from the Earl at Plymouth. As soon as he received his message on the morning of the 1st, he called a Council of War, and addressed them as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—You see our General and some "chief officers have thought fit to leave us, and our "horse are got away; we are left alone upon our "defence. That which I propound to you is this: "that we, having the same courage that our horse "had, and the same God to assist us, may make the "same trial of our fortunes, and endeavour to make "our way through our enemies as they have done; "and account it better to die with honour and faith-"fulness, than to live dishonourable."[1]

[1] Rushworth, vi. 704.

But few of the Council agreed in opinion with the gallant old General, and a treaty of capitulation was resolved on; and not only resolved, but, on the very same day, terms were signed by the Generals of both armies. By them the rebels agreed to give up all their artillery and arms[1], excepting the swords and pistols of officers; on which they were to be convoyed by the royal troops in safety to Poole, agreeing not to bear arms again before they arrived at Southampton.

One is struck by the remarkably easy terms granted in capitulations, as much as by a certain want of vigour and energy in pressing their adversaries, which is observable on both sides. It would seem they never forgot, up to this time at least, that they were brethren fighting against brethren. In the relation just ended, another question arises; what was the Earl of Warwick[2] doing at Plymouth with the fleet, when, within thirty miles of him, was the army of his party in a state of distress, which the presence of a few men-of-war off Fowey would have relieved at once?

Essex did not write an account of his disasters to the Committee of both Kingdoms; his indignation against that board was only shown in his letter to

[1] Thirty-eight guns, including the four captured, and about 6000 stand of arms, fell to the royal army by this capitulation.

[2] Whitelocke, p. 102., says that Warwick made "a gallant attempt to relieve Fowey, but extremity of weather would not suffer him to land one man;" but surely if Lord Essex could leave Fowey in an open boat, the same means might have embarked a portion at least of the army, had the fleet been off Fowey.

Sir Philip Stapleton, which was read in Parliament. In it he says: "How our poor army was neglected "and oppressed, is well known to you, and shall be "to the world; for never were so many gallant "and faithful men so long exposed without succor." And again he says, "this business shall not sleep, if "it be in my power."

Colonels Weare and Butler were accused of having caused the late disaster by their misconduct; the regiment of the former having quitted its post on the 30th, and Butler, who had been a prisoner in the royal camp, and was only exchanged two days before, was accused of having tampered with the army on his return, by spreading certain reports. Both were committed to the Tower.

An inquiry into the reasons why Waller or a competent force was not sent into the West on the King's going there, instead of lying idle about Abingdon, being by no means agreeable to his party, it was stifled by sending to Essex the following letter from the Parliament.

No. LXXXV.[1]

The Speakers to Essex.

My Lord,—The Committee of both Kingdoms having acquainted the Houses of Parliament with your Lordship's letters from Plymouth, they have commanded us to let you know that, as they apprehend the misfortunes of that accident, and submit to God's pleasure therein, so their good affections to your Lordship, and their opinion of your fidelity

[1] Lords' Journal, vi. 699.

and merit in the public service, is not at all lessened; and they are resolved not to be wanting in their best endeavors for the repairing of this loss, and drawing together such a strength under your command, as may, with the blessing of God, return our affairs to a better condition than they are now in; to which purpose they have written to the Earl of Manchester to march with all possible speed towards Dorchester in Dorsetshire with all the forces he can of horse and foot. Sir Will. Waller is likewise ordered to march speedily unto Dorchester with all his horse and foot.

The Houses have appointed 6000 foot arms, 500 pair of pistols, and 6000 suits of clothes, shirts, &c., to meet your Lordship at Portsmouth, for the arming and encouragement of your forces; and they are confident your Lordship's presence in those parts, for bringing the forces together in a body, and disposing of them, will very much conduce to the public advantage. Your Lordship's most affectionate friends,

GREY OF WARKE.

Westminster, 7th Sept. 1644. WM. LENTHAL.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LIFE OF ROBERT, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX—*concluded.*

MOVEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ARMY.—PROCEEDINGS OF LORD ESSEX.—HIS ILLNESS.—SECOND BATTLE OF NEWBURY.—CONSULTATION AT ESSEX HOUSE CONCERNING CROMWELL.—SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE.—ESSEX RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION.—HIS CONDUCT AS GENERAL.—SEQUESTRATED LANDS ASSIGNED TO HIM.—PROPOSAL TO MAKE ESSEX AND OTHERS DUKES.—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.—LORD CLARENDON'S CHARACTER OF LORD ESSEX.—HIS FUNERAL.—LITIGATION ABOUT HIS WILL.

In a few days after the capitulation of General Skippon, the royal army commenced its march, and arrived on the 10th September before Plymouth; a summons was sent to Lord Roberts, who remained in command of the garrison, which being rejected by him, several unsuccessful attempts were made to take the town by assault; on this Charles raised the siege, and continued his march to Exeter, at which place he arrived on the 17th. Goring, who had been detached against Barnstaple and Ilfracombe, took those places on capitulation, the garrisons marching out with the honours of war, and having a convoy to Portsmouth; the ordnance, amounting to seventy pieces, being left to the Royalists.

The King having summoned the Oxford Parliament to assemble on the 9th November, slowly pursued his march in that direction; Waller, who had joined

General Middleton, and the horse under Balfour, retreating before him. The King was at Salisbury on the 15th October, and arrived at Newbury on the 22nd.

The Earl of Essex, who had proceeded by sea from Plymouth to Portsmouth, wrote from the latter place, on the 11th September, that he was collecting his forces again; and on the 14th he says, "Our poor "naked foot came the last night to Southampton "and thereabouts." He also says, in reference to the orders which had been given to Waller to march to his relief, and to the assurance he had received from the Committee that "nothing should be wanting "that might contribute to his Lordship's speedy as- "sistance,"—"I hope, hereafter, those who have dis- "obeyed your commands shall be questioned; for if "they had been put in execution, the war had been "ended before now, and I not put to so shameful a "retreat,—it being never before this time in the "enemy's power to have the least advantage over "my army."[1]

The jealousy entertained against Essex was, for the moment, quelled by the disastrous event which had been its result, and the Parliament exerted themselves to recruit and arm his men with so much diligence, that on the 17th October he was again enabled to take the field, and on the 21st he was joined near Basingstoke by Manchester and Waller, while 5000 men of the City trained bands were on their

[1] Letter-book, S. P. O.

march towards him. At this critical moment, when the King was within a few miles of Essex, and a decisive action looked for, an indisposition, which had been gradually growing upon him, increased to such an extent, that he was compelled to quit the army, and go to Reading.

The cause of his retirement from the head of the army at this critical juncture, is satisfactorily accounted for by Sir John Meyricke, who, writing to Sir Samuel Luke from Reading, on the 26th October, says: "I am much troubled to tell you that my "Lord General is now at Reading, and fallen ex- "treme ill of an impostume in his back parts, much "to be feared, unless timely prevented, will turn to a "fistula; that it should please God to visit him at "this time, troubles his mind extremely, and, I fear, "may endanger his life, but God's will must be." [1]

The illness of Essex being reported to the Houses on the 26th, the following letter was addressed to him by their order.

No. LXXXVI.[2]

The Committee to Essex.

My Lord,—We are very sorry to hear of your Lordship's indisposition, and that you have by so long striving against it, so much increased it. We are sensible of the want of your presence at the army, yet desire your Lordship, however, to take special care of your health, that you may preserve yourself both to your friends and the public. We send this messenger express to be certified of your health, and desire

[1] Ashburnham MSS. [2] S. P. O.

your Lordship to despatch him immediately with the state of it.

Derby House, 26th Oct. 1644.

No. LXXXVII.[1]

Essex to the Committee.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is a comfort to me in this sad time of mine affliction in mind and body, to see that I am continued in your care, being at this present so useless a servant to the State.

The particulars of my disease I shall crave pardon that I defer the account of till Doctor St. John, old Mr. Bowden of Reading, and Langley mine own chirurgeon, shall set down the true state, as much as they can perceive of it as yet; only thus much, I think it has been much occasioned (the inconveniency I am like to suffer) by striving so long with it, thinking it the greatest worldly misfortune that would have befallen me at this present: but it is God's doing, and I must with all humility submit to his pleasure; so acknowledging your Lordships' great favor in sending hither, I rest, my Lords, your Lordships' most humble servant,

Reading, 27th Oct. 1644. ESSEX.

On the day the above letter was written, the second battle of Newbury was fought; the absence of the Lord General, whose superior rank was acknowledged by all, produced results of the highest importance.

The jealousies entertained towards each other by the Generals of the rebel army, were so well known, that the Committee had written letters to the principal commanders, urging them to forget their ani-

[1] S. P. O.

mosities, and for the sake of the common cause to act with zeal and unity.

To a want of the agreement thus urged upon the commanders, may be ascribed the indecisive result of the battle, in which the army of the Parliament, although greatly superior in numbers to that of the King, not only gained no material advantage, but on the following day, when Charles had retired, leaving his artillery and wounded in Dennington Castle, they suffered a repulse before that castle; and on the 9th November, the rebel leaders having passed the interim in accusations and recriminations at Newbury, the King, joined by his horse under Rupert and Northampton, relieved Dennington before their eyes, removed his artillery to Oxford, and offered battle, which was declined. The Committee of the Two Kingdoms replied to the despatch of Manchester, Waller, and Balfour, reporting these facts, that they were "sorry to hear the enemy met not that opposi-" tion that was expected from an army that God had " blessed lately with so happy a victory." Essex, who had arrived in London the day before, attended this meeting of the Committee on the 10th.

The Parliament was justly displeased, and ordered an inquiry into the conduct of the Generals, and the state of the army, while they kept their monthly fast with more than usual strictness.

In the House of Commons, Cromwell accused Manchester of disaffection, and of studiously avoiding all opportunities of obtaining victory over the King's

forces[1]; while Manchester retorted on him in the Upper House, with a charge of disobedience of orders on the day of Newbury, which prevented a decisive victory being gained. It appears that Cromwell already aimed at supreme power, and that he had sounded Manchester, who proved deaf to his persuasions, and refused to betray the trust reposed in him by the Parliament; his overthrow was therefore resolved on, with the rest of the moderate leaders.

The following is the last letter written by the Lord General before his return to London.

No. LXXXVIII.[2]

Essex to the Committee.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I received the enclosed from Major-General Browne, and very readily recommend his requests to your Lordships, desiring such stragglers as can be apprehended may be made exemplary.

I give your LL. many thanks for your enquiry after my recovery, which I thank God begins, though with a small progress; I can now sit up half an hour or an hour in a day without much pain. My Lords, I am your LL. most humble servant, ESSEX.

General Browne's letter stated, that four-score troopers had run away from Abingdon to London, pretending their want of pay, whereas they were not more than four or five weeks in arrear. He begs

[1] The resolution not to fight on the 9th November, was, however, taken in a full council of war, Cromwell being one of its members.—Ludlow, i. 132. Baillie, ii. 76.

[2] S. P. O.

that "they may be made exemplary in punishment, "who never were nor will be serviceable as soldiers." The jealousies and quarrels of the commanders produced their usual effect; the troops became discontented and mutinous, and many desertions took place. The Committee, in their letters to Essex, deplore his absence from the army, and desire him to order all officers to remain with their respective charges, on pain of death.

We will now proceed to relate the origin and progress of the celebrated Self-denying Ordinance, which, by removing from civil offices and military commands all the moderate men, enabled Oliver Cromwell to plant his foot firmly on the ladder to power, which he climbed so successfully and so rapidly, that in a few short months, to use the words of Mr. Hallam, "Fairfax and Cromwell triumphed, "not only over the King and the monarchy, but over "the Parliament and the nation."[1]

Of the two parties into which the rebels were divided in November, 1644, the Presbyterians were the most numerous; but the Independents not only possessed the most able and energetic leaders, but all the most popular preachers belonged to that party: hence they made up in influence what they wanted in numbers.

The conduct of the army at Newbury had been submitted to a Committee; and it soon became known that the Independents, who scouted the idea of peace,

[1] At the battle of Naseby, 14th June, 1645. — Const. Hist. i. 592.

were resolved to get rid of Essex and the other advocates for it, and that this Committee recommended that the army should be remodelled, thus solving their chief difficulty, which was the mode of setting aside the Earl of Essex without giving offence to him and to the army, in which he was much beloved. Cromwell was as popular with one portion of the army, as Essex was with the other; and on the former insinuating some misconduct on the part of Essex's own army at Newbury, the Earl conceived a jealousy of his intentions, and a consultation was held at Essex House, late one night, in the beginning of December. The Scots Commissioners, Whitelocke, Maynard, Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Meyricke, and some other friends of Essex were present.[1]

Lord Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland, opened the proceedings in a speech specially addressed to Whitelocke and Maynard, in which he desired their opinions, whether Lieutenant General Cromwell ought not to be proceeded against as an incendiary, as that term was understood in the Solemn League and Covenant.

Both Whitelocke and Maynard replied to the same effect: that they considered Cromwell to be a man of quick and subtle parts, who had lately gained no small interest in the House of Commons, while he had some friends in the House of Peers, and was of ability to manage his defence to the best advantage;

[1] Whitelocke, 116.

that it would be necessary to have clear proof that he had *raised the fire of contention in the State*, which was their definition of the word incendiary, before proceeding against him, and that such persons as the Chancellor of Scotland and the Lord General ought not to appear in it, if there was any doubt.

This advice was followed, and the matter dropped; but Whitelocke says, there was cause to believe some person present had informed Cromwell of what passed, who, perceiving the danger to himself of further delay, lost no time in prosecuting his plans.

On the 9th December, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider the sad condition of the kingdom by the continuance of the war, and how the war should be effectually prosecuted, if the negotiations then pending did not come to a successful issue. For a considerable time silence prevailed, each waiting for his neighbour to break it. At length Cromwell rose, and made a speech, in which he declared the general belief, that those in command and in high places desired nothing less than a termination of hostilities, in order that they "might be continued in grandeur" and power. He therefore urged the necessity of putting the army on "another method."

After a debate, it was moved by Mr. Zouch Tate, and resolved, that during this war no member of either House should have any military command, or hold any civil office, under the Parliament. A Com-

mittee was appointed to prepare an ordinance in the terms of the resolution.[1]

Some of the movers of this resolution confessed that their object was to remove the Lord General, who would otherwise obstruct their designs; he being a favourer of peace, and too strong a supporter of monarchy, nobility, and other old institutions, which they desired to alter.[2]

Cromwell was not sure of his majority, and religion was called in to exert herself in his favour. The House ordered a fast, and agreed to the preachers proposed by the Independents. The fast was observed by the House in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, no strangers, not even the officers of the House, being admitted, that the preachers might speak more freely respecting the Self-denying Ordinance, on which they were to implore a blessing.

On the 17th December, the Ordinance was reported to the House, and a proviso that it should not extend to the Earl of Essex rejected by a majority of seven.[3]

On the 21st December, the Ordinance was sent to the Lords; and so impatient were the Commons, that three days afterwards they sent a message, desiring the Lords to expedite the measure. It was referred to a select Committee, composed of Essex,

[1] Commons' Journal, iii. 718. Parl. Hist. iii. 326.

[2] Whitelocke, 118.

[3] The numbers were, on the question that this proviso should be added to the Ordinance —

Yeas 93. Tellers, Sir Ph. Stapleton and Mr. Holles.

Noes 100. " Sir H. Vane, junior, and Sir J. Evelyn, junior.

Warwick, Denbigh, Manchester, and six other Peers. On their report a conference was demanded, and the Lords gave their reasons for not assenting to the Ordinance: that it deprived the Peers of the honour of serving their country, which in all ages had been their constant practice, and laid a blot on them, by treating them as incapable and delinquent persons, who had highly demerited; that it only excepted such few of the Gentry and Commons of England as were members, therefore the case was not alike between the two Houses.

The Lower House refused to take these reasons into consideration, alleging that a breach of privilege and of the custom of Parliament had been committed by the Lords, in sending down reasons unaccompanied by the Ordinance and the proposed amendments.

The Lords demanded another conference, in which they stated that they found the Commons had quite mistaken the matter of the former conference; that the Lords considered the Ordinance, as it stood, was unfit to be passed, and had prepared no amendments; that, on a former occasion, the Commons having complained that the Lords had rejected an ordinance concerning an oath of secrecy to be taken by the Committee of both Kingdoms, without giving their reasons, they had, on this occasion, demanded a conference, to afford them that satisfaction.

On the 13th January, 1645, Mr. Pierrepoint, accompanied by the whole House, being sent up with a message to urge the immediate passing of the Ordi-

nance, the question was put, and the Ordinance thrown out, in a House of nineteen Peers, besides the Speaker.[1]

The next move of the Independents in the House of Commons, was a resolution by vote of the 21st January, that Sir Thomas Fairfax should be appointed to command all the forces on the new establishment. It is to be inferred, from the numbers on this division, that some means had been used to intimidate the moderate party, and deter them from voting.[2] They also proceeded in the new modelling of the army, which was to consist of 6000 horse, 1000 dragoons, and 14,000 foot. To this Ordinance the Lords proposed amendments, which were agreed to by the Commons on the 17th February, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was sent for, and complimented by the Speaker on his appointment.

But although the army in the field was thus placed under Fairfax's command, Essex was not yet superseded in his office of Lord General, and the forts and garrisons were under his orders. The House of Commons, on the 25th February, reappointed the former Committee to prepare another Self-denying Ordinance, similar to the former one. This was passed with much less opposition than before, and sent to the Lords on the 31st March. St. John, Whitelocke, Pierrepoint, and Crewe, who had been

[1] Lords' Journal, vii. 113. 115. 117. 129. Commons' Journal, iii. 726.; iv. 11. 13. 16, 17.

[2] Noes 69. Tellers, Sir Ph. Stapleton, Mr. Holles.
Ayes 101. " Sir H. Vane, junior, Lt. Gen. Cromwell.

thought to belong to Essex's party, appeared in favour of the Ordinance. Some who were for peace, but thought that it could never be obtained until they had completely vanquished the King, followed the same course. The Scots Commissioners, influenced by the Marquis of Argyle, who had formed a friendship for Sir H. Vane, had slackened in their opposition. The determined advance of the Independent leaders, Fiennes, Vane, Cromwell, Haslerig, Martin, towards their goal, probably had its effect in making the undecided and the timid fall back.

About the same time, an ordinance conferring additional powers, and the command of the forts and garrisons, on Sir Thomas Fairfax, was sent to the Lords, who made several amendments, and added a clause to it concerning the safety of the King's person. The Houses were again brought into collision by this; but the Lords persisted, and appointed a Committee to give their reasons for adhering to the additional clause; when, on the 1st April, the Earl of Essex cut away the difficulty, by desiring that he "might have leave to-morrow to present and deliver "up his commission, so there would be no obstacle "to the passing of the clause placing the forts and "garrisons under the command of Sir Thomas "Fairfax."[1]

[1] Lords' Journal, vii. 298. Whitelocke, p. 140., says: "Some of Essex's friends were against his laying down his commission, but others told him that mischiefs and contests might arise if he kept it, whereof himself was sensible; and as he had great stoutness of spirit, so he had great goodness of nature and love to the public, which persuaded him to lay down his commission."

This he did on the 2nd April, giving in with it the following declaration:—

Having received this great charge in obedience to the command of both Houses, and taken their sword into my hand, I can with confidence say, that I have, for now almost three years, faithfully served you, and I hope without loss of any honor to myself or prejudice to the public, supported therein by the goodness of God, and the fidelity and courage of a great many gallant men, both officers and soldiers; but I will neither trouble you nor myself, by repeating either the difficulties or danger we have overcome, or the service I have done you.

I see, by the now coming up of these ordinances, that it is the desire of the House of Commons that my commission may be vacated; and it hath been no particular respect to myself, whatever is whispered to the contrary, that hath made me thus long omit to declare my readiness thereto, it being not unknown to divers men of honor, that I had resolved it after the action of Gloucester, but that some importunities, pressed on me with arguments of public advantage, and that by those of unquestionable affection, overruled me therein. I do now do it, and return my commission into those hands that gave it me; wishing it may prove as good an expedient to the present distempers as some will have it believed, which I shall pray for with as hearty a zeal as any that desire my doing this which now I do.

I think it not immodest that I intreat both Houses, that those officers of mine which are now laid by, might have their debentures audited, some considerable part of their arrears paid them for their support, and the remainder secured them by the public faith, and that those of them that remain questioned, may be brought to some speedy trial, whereby they may receive either the punishment or the justification that is due to them; under which notion I remember only three,

of whom I must testify, that they frankly and courageously have adventured their lives and lost their blood for the public, and that with continued fidelity for aught ever I could observe.

My Lords, I know that jealousies cannot be avoided in the unhappy condition of our present affairs; yet wisdom and charity should put such restraints thereto, as not to allow it to become destructive. I hope that this advice from me is not unseasonable, wishing myself and my friends may, among others, participate the benefit thereof; this proceeding from my affection to the Parliament, the prosperity whereof I shall ever wish from my heart, what return soever it brings me, I being no single example in that kind of that fortune I now undergo.[1]

What the motives may have been which actuated Lord Essex on this occasion, we have no means of judging; but it is evident, from the above declaration, that he was not well satisfied with the treatment he had experienced. Having gained their end, his adversaries had no objection to bestow on him the most flattering expressions of their gratitude; perhaps they were surprised at having so easily gained the victory. The two Houses waited on him the next day at Essex House, to thank him for his patriotism, with the highest encomiums on his conduct, and the strongest expressions of their sense of his past services.

The soldiers who had served under the immediate command of Lord Essex, did not at all approve of this change of generals. Their love for him was known, and any danger arising from the measure had

[1] Lords' Journal, vii. 300.

been provided against, by dividing his army into small detachments. The horse, which were quartered in Hertfordshire, made some show of resistance[1]; on which Oliver St. John proposed to "cut them to "pieces," and indeed is said to have written privately to the Hertfordshire Committee, desiring they would raise the country and destroy those men. But the Parliament was not so violent and bloodthirsty; and sending down some of their old officers, who bore the earnest desire of Lord Essex to the soldiers, that they would submit to the ordinance, and serve the newly-appointed officers as faithfully as those who had been removed, the insubordinate regiments were persuaded to give their obedience to the newly appointed officers.

The Earls of Denbigh, Manchester, and Warwick, followed the example of their chief. A Committee

[1] This was not the only portion of his army that was inclined to rebel against the ordinance, as appears by the following extracts from correspondence in the Ashburnham Collection, which thus afford an additional proof of the disinterested and patriotic conduct of Essex. Had he thought proper to head these troops, what might have been the result? Sir Sam. Luke writes from Newport Pagnell, of which place he was the Governor, on the 25th February:— "Sir Thomas Fairfax has arrived in London, who hath the nomination of his own officers. My L. General continues still as he did, and nothing is farther acted for the removing of him. There have been great mutinies and discontents amongst his soldiers, insomuch as they have refused to march with Sir Will. Waller. They sent down Sir Will. Balfour and Major-General Skippon to them, to see if they could persuade them." Again, Captain Oxford to Sir S. Luke:—"His Excellency's army not only denieth marching with Sir William Waller, but is coming with a hasty retreat to this place; what the event will be, God knows. Sir W. Waller sent up word to the House, that so soon as the Newport men knew they were to march under him, 100 of them ran away." A detachment of 300 men had been sent from Newport a short time before.—Ashburnham MSS. 229. of Stowe Catalogue.

was appointed to consider what mark of honour should be set upon the Earl of Essex, to remain as a testimony to posterity, and an acknowledgment from the Parliament of the great and faithful services he had done; as well as to consider the services of the other officers who had been set aside.

On their report, it was ordered that, for the future, the 10,000*l.* a-year formerly voted, should be paid to Essex in equal quarterly payments, and that the sum of 4300*l.* arrears of his entertainment on the establishment should be paid up.

With respect to the negotiations for peace, to which reference has been made, it is only necessary to state, that Commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge on the 30th January, 1645. The Parliamentary Commissioners were directed to devote three days to each of the following subjects,—Religion, Militia, and Ireland: to make and receive all communications in writing: and only to treat during twenty days. As there was no serious intention on the part of the prevailing party in Parliament to make peace, it is needless to say that the time expired without that result being attained.

It was by no means the intention of Cromwell and his friends that *he* should obey the Self-denying Ordinance; before it passed, therefore, he was sent on service into the West; and when the day was appointed on which the officers were to give up their commissions, Fairfax desired that Cromwell might be permitted to remain with him a few days, and shortly after, in a second letter, that he might be permitted

to serve out the campaign. On the 11th May, the House ordered that he should retain his appointment forty days longer; on the 18th June, he was continued for three months; on the 8th August, for four months; on the 17th October, for four months; and on the 23rd January, 1646, for six months; each of these periods commencing at the expiration of the former. Before the periods of time so voted were completed, the army ruled the country, and Cromwell ruled the army.

Although I have from time to time, in the course of this narrative, expressed opinions respecting the conduct of the war by the Earl of Essex, it will be desirable here, at the termination of his services, to make a few observations.

It has been the custom of all writers on this period, to pass by the Earl with a few slighting remarks on his slowness, his want of energy, his incompetence as a general; a custom so invariable, that I incline to believe later authors have followed like sheep in the track of their predecessors, without making any investigation for themselves.

Lord Essex was certainly not one of those brilliant meteors which occasionally shoot across the intellectual atmosphere, and which were wholly wanting in the days of Charles I.; but if he were of so dull a nature and so mean a capacity as the above epithets would imply, how did it occur, that from amongst others of equal rank, of equal experience, of equal and of greater wealth, he was unanimously and unhesitatingly selected by the Parliament and people of

England as their General? — or how can we give any credit to that assertion of Clarendon, that unless Essex had accepted the command, the Parliament would have been unable to raise an army? Had he been able so completely to deceive the people at first, surely he could not have retained till his death such influence as the following passage indicates: "He was the "head of our party here, kept all together, who now "are like by that alone to fall to pieces. The House "of Lords absolutely, the City very much, and many "of the Shires, depended on him."[1]

Had he been so incompetent a general, it could not have needed "cunningly to contrive a side wind "to remove him from his commands," in which words Whitelocke[2] designates the Self-denying Ordinance and its main object.

Was he feeble because he never crushed the King's army, as unquestionably he might have done; or because he was neither an Independent in religion, nor a republican in politics?

The conduct of Lord Essex in the first Scots insurrection, in 1639, and in the brilliant exploit of relieving Gloucester, are sufficient to show that the want of energy in pressing Charles, did not arise from any natural defect. By what means he proposed to obtain peace and a constitutional government, how he proposed to limit the royal prerogatives claimed by Charles, cannot be known; he had not a ready tongue, and writing was little practised during the Civil War. But we are told that some

[1] Baillie, ii. 234.

[2] P. 118.

members had begun to conceive they never should have peace until the King were in their hands, and on that account voted for changing the managers of the war; it is therefore evident that Essex was for treating with the King while free.

It certainly does appear strange, that the Earl of Essex should so completely have made himself the champion and leader of rebellion, as he did, by accepting the post of Captain-General of the rebel armies which he occupied, and thereby seem to defy the King's anger and power, and yet retain so much loyalty and respect for that King, as to avoid in every possible way being personally opposed to him, or pressing him to defeat and humiliation. It was impossible for him to reconcile the two lines of conduct; had he subdued the King, he was aware there would be little security against the utter extinction of the kingly office, while it was equally certain, that until he was defeated, it would be impossible to treat effectually with Charles.

He consequently failed, like moderate men in all revolutions, and was succeeded by leaders who had none of the scruples which held him back, and who inflamed the minds of their followers to a pitch of frantic enthusiasm.

The order and discipline maintained in the army under his immediate command, cannot be too highly commended. Rapine and violence were as little known among his troops as among those of Cromwell at a later period, who has been so much bepraised for it; and respect and regard consequently attended

Essex in all the countries through which he marched, which certainly is more than can be said for the other.

On the 26th September, 1645, an ordinance was passed[1], entirely altering the manner in which Lord Essex was to receive the annuity of 10,000*l.*, so frequently voted and so badly paid, as appears by the preamble.

"The Lords and Commons, calling to mind the "heroic valor, prudent courage, and unspotted fide-"lity of Robert, Earl of Essex, in discharging the "high and important command of Captain-General of "the Forces raised by the Parliament; and that, "although by an ordinance of the 26th May, 1643, "the said Lords and Commons, taking notice of the "great losses and sufferings of the said Earl, both in "his personal and real estate, and of his faithful "service both to the Parliament and Kingdom, did "order and ordain, that 10,000*l.* per annum should "be paid to the said Earl and his assigns, out of the "monies raised by seizing and sequestering the "estates and goods of delinquents, yet the same hath "not been paid to the said Earl, as in right it ought "to have been."

They proceed to order that the arrears shall be paid immediately after the payment of 5000*l.*, due to "our brethren of Scotland," and shall in future be paid in four quarterly payments. For this payment they assign the following:

[1] Commons' Journal, iv.

Manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, late parcel of the estates of Arthur, Lord Capel[1], a delinquent in arms against the Parliament, viz:—

The mansion houses of Cayshebury and Little Haddam, with the parks and lands adjoining;

The manor of Cayshoe;

The rectory and parsonage impropriate of Watford;

The lands called Langley Park;

The manors of Parkbury, Walkerne, and the third part of Bushey, all in Herts, and of the clear yearly value of 780*l.* above all charges and reprizes.

Also, the manors of Rayne, Stebbing, Barking Park, Porter's Hall, Berwick Berners;

The farm of Blake End, all in Essex, and of the value as above, of 450*l.*

Also, the manors of Gooderstone with Oxberrow, and Little Framisham, Norfolk, of the value of 100*l.*

Also, the manors of Icklingham Berners, and Aspall Stonham, Suffolk, value 60*l.*

Also, lands at Wardon Abbey, Bedfordshire, value 250*l.*

And, houses in Whitefriars, 80*l.*

Also the following, late the property of Sir John, Sir Thomas, and Sir Charles Lucas, knights; viz.:—

St. John's Abbey, Colchester;

The manors of Shenfield, Mile End, Greensted, Fordham, Lexden, Horseley, in Essex, being of the clear yearly value of 1100*l.*

Also, late the property of Thomas Fanshawe, Esq., of Barking:—

The late dissolved abbey of Barking;

[1] Was it by way of retribution, that the title of Earl of Essex—which from the Conquest had been held by the ancestors of the Devereux, with the exception of the short period during which Thomas Cromwell bore the title—was, after the Restoration, bestowed on Lord Capel?

The manors of Jenkins and Porters, of the value of 600*l.*

Also, late the property of William Peter, Esq., the manors of Stanford Rivers, and South Okenden, Essex, of the value of 600*l.*

Also, Glemham Hall, Suffolk, late the property of Sir Thos. Glemham, value 600*l.*

Also, late the property of the Earl of St. Alban's, a papist, Somerhill or Tonbridge, Kent, and Barley, Herts, value 420*l.*

The other 5000*l.* was to be paid quarterly, out of the treasury at Guildhall; and if the lands produced less or more than 5000*l.*, the Earl was to make it known, that he might receive the deficiency, or refund the surplus.

It appears that the tenants on some of the estates were not disposed to be thus summarily transferred to a new lord by an order of Parliament; for on the 5th December it was reported, that some of the committees in those counties where the above lands were situated, refused to obey the ordinance.

On the 24th November, 1645, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee, which sat from day to day until the 2nd December, to consider and resolve on certain propositions to the King, for a safe and well-grounded peace. Amongst these resolutions were the following, which afford curious ground for speculation on the motives of their originators: that the Earls of Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, and Pembroke, should be created Dukes; Manchester and Salisbury, Marquises; Viscount Say and Sele, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, Lords Roberts, Wharton, Willoughby of Parham, to be

created Earls; Denzil Holles, a Viscount; Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir William Waller, Lieutenant-General O. Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, sen., Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir Arthur Haslerig, to be created Barons. That the case of the four Dukes and of Lord Manchester be referred to a Committee, to consider of some means for the support of their honours. That estates in land should be given in fee simple of the following value:—

To Sir Thos. Fairfax - -	£5000	per annum.
To Lt. Gen. Oliver Cromwell -	2500	„
To Sir Will. Waller - -	2500	„
To Sir Ph. Stapleton - -	2000	„
To Sir A. Haslerig - - -	2000	„
To Sir Wm. Brereton - -	1500	„
To Maj. Gen. Philip Skippon -	1000[1]	„

The King desired to treat; the Houses refused to enter into negotiations, but resolved to proceed by acts of Parliament, of which seven were proposed.

1. For settling Presbyterian government, and extirpating Episcopacy.
2. For prosecuting the war against the Irish rebels.
3. For the militia to remain in the power of the Parliament.
4. For the payment of the debts of the kingdom.
5. For bringing delinquents to punishment.
6. That no honours be given, but to such as have testified their affections to the public.
7. Concerning the privileges of London.[2]

[1] Commons' Journal, iv. 354. 360.

[2] Whitelocke, 190.

Messages from the King, and answers from the Parliament, on the question how the arrangements for peace were to be made, passed between Oxford and London from time to time, until May, 1646, in the beginning of which month Charles gave himself up to the Earl of Leven, at Newark.

There remains but little to say of the Earl of Essex, during the brief remnant of his life. He continued, after his resignation, to be a member of the Committee of both Kingdoms, and was a member of the Committee for managing the Admiralty affairs. The Journals show that he was a constant and regular attendant in Parliament until the 4th September, the last day that he appears to have been present. If we may judge from the expressions of Baillie and Whitelocke, he appears to have united himself to the Presbyterians, and was the head of that party which opposed the extreme measures and doctrines of the Independents, and which, at his death, seems to have found no member of sufficient weight to succeed him as their leader.

Ludlow is the only writer who assigns any cause for his last illness: it is stated by him, that Lord Essex died of a fever, brought on by over-exertion in the chase of a stag, in Windsor Forest.[1] He had the satisfaction of being attended by his sister and his dearest friends during his last hours. Lady Hertford had been permitted to come to London from Oxford in May, and in July, Lord Hertford had leave

[1] Ludlow's Mem. i. 185.

to reside at the Earl of Essex's house at Eltham, or where else he pleased; and the Earl of Holland's hand was so fast locked in the dying grasp of his cousin, that he extricated it with difficulty. He departed this life at Essex House, on the 14th September, 1646; and the following day both Houses of Parliament, after voting that they should attend his funeral, adjourned out of respect to the memory of the deceased.

I believe that the character of the Earl of Essex will have been elevated in the mind of the reader of the foregoing pages, above any former impression he may have entertained; I shall not, therefore, run the risk of weakening that impression, by entering into any summary of his character, but content myself with giving some extracts from Lord Clarendon's account, who cannot be suspected of any bias in his favour, and who points out his failings and weaknesses with great distinctness.

"He was of a rough proud nature, the most "popular man of the kingdom, and the darling of the "swordmen. His pride and ambition were not "accompanied with any ill nature, and he had a "faithfulness and constancy in his nature, which "always kept him religious in matters of trust; in "a word, he might be imposed on in his understand-"ing, but could not be corrupted by hopes or fears. "He was, in his friendships, just and constant, and "would not have practised foully against those he "took to be enemies. He was more the idol of the "people, than the idolater of them. A weak judg-"ment, and a little vanity, will hurry a man into as

" unwarrantable and as violent attempts, as the most " insatiable ambition will do. His vanity disposed " him to be his Excellency, and his weakness to " believe he should be General in the Houses, as well " as in the field. The new doctrines and distinctions " of allegiance, and of the King's power, were too " hard for him, and did intoxicate his understanding, " and made him quit his own to follow theirs, who, " he thought, wished as well as, and judged better " than, himself. He was no good speaker; but " having sat long in Parliament, and being well " acquainted with the order of it, spoke better there " than any where else; and was always heard with " attention and respect, and had much authority in " the debates. He was as much devoted as any man " to the Book of Common Prayer, and obliged all his " servants to be constantly present with him at it. " None were more disposed than the Earl of Essex to " take away the Bishops' votes, and all temporal " privileges and power, believing that it would do the " Church no harm, if the Bishops had fewer diversions " from their spiritual charges."

On the 1st October, the House of Commons voted that 5000*l.* should be paid to the executors of the late Earl, out of the rents assigned to him, to discharge his debts and the expenses of his funeral; and on the 20th October it was resolved, that all the members should meet at Essex House at 10 o'clock on the 22nd, having previously divided on the question, whether the Earl of Hertford, or any other person who had borne arms against the Parliament, should

be permitted to attend the funeral.[1] The Lords ordered, that those Peers who had not time to provide themselves with robes, might be absent if they pleased. They also issued an "order to the Stewards "and Constables of Westminster, at their perils, to "pave and cleanse the streets from Temple Bar to the "west end of the Abbey Church, against the day of the "funeral, that the Lords, Commons, and all others in "that procession, might pass in the streets without in-"convenience, by reason of the foulness of the ways." They likewise appointed two heralds to officiate as Clarencieux and Norroy, and directed the Justices to call out such of the trained bands of Westminster as they chose, to prevent the disorder likely to occur by the concourse of people.[2]

There are several printed accounts of the ceremony of the funeral, from which I have made some extracts. He, or rather his effigies, lay in state for many days in the great room in Essex House, in white boots, scarlet breeches, a buff coat (the same he wore at Edgehill), in his Parliamentary robes, with his sword by his side, his General's staff in his hand, his coronet on his head.

At the upper end of the Abbey, where the communion table stood, a hearse was erected, "with a canopy

[1] Ayes 36. Tellers, Sir Ph. Stapleton, Mr. Whitelocke,
Noes 48. " Sir W. Armyn, Mr. Bond.

The House of Commons likewise ordered that 4500*l.*, arrears of annuity payable to the Countess of Essex, and charged on the Staffordshire estates, should be sequestrated, and paid to the executors, who were to give 500*l.* to Major-General Mathews, and the rest among the servants of the Earl as a reward and recompense.—Commons' Journal, iv. 679.

[2] Lords' Journal, viii. 533. Commons' Journal, iv. 696. 699.

" on pillars about twelve feet high, gilt with gold, and " hung with velvet, ornamented with the escocheons of " arms of the Earl." The Abbey was hung with black, and the pavement and seats covered with black, from the belfry to the upper end.

A grave was dug in St. John Baptist's Chapel, where Bohun, Abbot of Westminster, had been buried (temp. Rich. II.), whose crosier was dug up in making the vault, which was two and a half yards long, one and a half yard wide, and of height proportioned, was arched over with freestone, and lay next by the side of Lord Hunsdon's vault.[1] A curtailed account of the funeral procession and ceremony is placed in the Appendix[2], and will be interesting to the curious in such matters, as affording an example of the ceremonial observed in a state and military funeral of the utmost magnificence at that period.

After the ceremony, the hearse and effigies, with the standard, guidon, banners, great banner, bannerets and hatchments, with eight pieces of armour placed about the hearse, were placed at the upper end of the Church, where, it was ordered, they should stand as they were set up in the chancel, for a month after the funeral. They were not removed immediately on the expiration of the term; and on the 26th November, some evil-disposed persons concealed themselves in the Abbey, when it was locked up at night, and destroyed and defaced the effigies, cutting and hacking all the

[1] From the Perfect Relation of the memorable Funerals of Robert, Earl of Essex and Ewe, &c. 1646.

[2] (G.)

clothes, excepting the robes, which were thrown on the ground, breaking the sword, and throwing down the hatchments. The same persons also defaced and injured the monument of William Camden, but did no further mischief. An inquiry took place without eliciting anything, and the violence was ascribed, according to the opinions of people, either to the Independents, or to "prelatical persons and Jesuited "Cavaliers."

On the day after the funeral, Sir Walter Devereux, Bart., of Castle Bromwich, took his seat in the House of Peers as fifth Viscount Hereford, the titles of Earl of Essex and Viscount Bourchier being extinct, and the baronies of Ferrers of Chartley, Bourchier, and Lovaine, falling into abeyance between the Marchioness of Hertford and Sir Robert Shirley, son of Lady Dorothy Devereux.

There was a great deal of litigation about the property of the Earl of Essex, whose will was proved and administered by order of Parliament; disputed, and after the Restoration reversed. I have not been able to discover the decree of the Court; but whatever may have been the law of the case, it is quite evident, from the original will itself, which I have examined, and from other evidence, that the Earl never intended to alienate from the family of Devereux the estates in Herefordshire, which had been in their possession from the reign of John, if not earlier.

The original will is preserved among the archives

of the Court of Delegates, by which Court, in 1663, sentence was given in favour of Lady Hertford, then Duchess of Somerset, in her suit against the Earl of Northumberland[1] and others, executors of her brother's will.

The will, after reciting certain deeds by which the estates were vested in trustees, for the use of the Earl of Essex, leaves a blank for the disposition, which is filled in by the Earl's own handwriting, in these words: "I bequeath the lands of Herefordshire "to my dear sister the Marquis of Hertford, for her "natural life; the inheritance to Sir Walter Deve-"reux, and his heirs male, for want of such, to "return as it is formerly settled by deed. For "Essex House, and the tenements, to my nephew, "Sir Charles Shirley, and his heirs male, and for "want of them, to my nephew Robin, and if both "lines fail, to my sister Hertford's issue."

It appears from this extract, which does not agree with the words immediately preceding, that Essex intended Lady Hertford to enjoy for her life the whole of his property, excepting Essex House, and that all the rest, with the exception of the Herefordshire estates, was bequeathed absolutely to her.

We find by the Journals[2], that on the 17th October, 1646, complaint was made of the conduct of

[1] The will was dated the 4th of August, 1642, and Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, Robert, Earl of Warwick, John Hampden, and Oliver St. John were appointed executors.

[2] Commons' Journal, iv. 696.

certain persons at Essex House. Mr. Devereux being examined, stated that he went to Essex House that morning, and desired Mr. Isham[1] to deliver to him an indenture or conveyance concerning some lands which were entailed on him; that Mr. Isham told him it was no longer in his power, for that my Lady Marchioness of Hertford had sent for him up into her chamber about midnight, and that not only the writings, but likewise all the monies, amounting to 3700*l.*, and the goods there, were seized and taken out of his possession.

The House ordered that all the papers, money, &c. should be delivered to Northumberland, Warwick, and St. John; but Mr. Devereux never recovered his deed of entail!

We come now to some curious details about the will, for which I am indebted to the depositions and briefs in the subsequent suits, which are preserved in the old library at Longleat. The will was written on two sheets of paper, stitched together with black thread, the marks of which in the corners of the two sheets are, at this day, distinctly visible. In 1644, or 1645, some discontent arose in Essex's mind against St. John, which probably was caused by the part the latter took in the Self-denying Ordinance; he also, being on the committee at Goldsmiths' Hall, seems to have put some difficulties in the way of Essex's obtaining payment of his arrears, which the Earl took very unkindly, and from that

[1] Zacheus Isham was solicitor and treasurer of the household to the Earl.

time, till his death, St. John never visited Essex, nor did he, as formerly, consult St. John.

One day, coming home, he called for his will to be brought to him, saying that he had trusted St. John, but would do so no longer, and now revoked the trust; he then tore asunder the two sheets, and gave one to his Secretary to be copied, and put the other in his pocket. It was the custom of Lord Essex to call for one Wren, his barber, and deliver to him such papers out of his pocket as he had least occasion for, to be laid by; and there were at Eltham, where Essex had a house, and where he often went to hunt, some trunks full of such papers, among which was discovered that sheet of the will which he had put in his pocket. The two sheets were brought together again, and after the case had been heard by Sir Nathaniel Brent, was referred to a Committee of the House of Commons, and, on their report, the executors were ordered to administer.

After the restoration of Charles II., the Duchess of Somerset sent a petition to the King, stating that she had lost a very great inheritance from her brother, and without his royal grace was likely to be defrauded of his personal estate also. The petition goes on to state, that after the death of the Earl of Essex, Oliver St. John had set up a cancelled will, whereby he, and others by his persuasion, possessed themselves of all her brother's personal estate, valued at 30,000*l*. That, for fifteen years, she had opposed the probate of the said will in the Prerogative Court, the Court of Chancery, and the King's Bench, in

which last she got a verdict; and since His Majesty's restoration she had thrown over the pretended will in the Prerogative Court, and had been sworn administratrix. The prayer of the petition was, that St. John should be called on to return by a certain day, or in default, the forfeiture he would suffer might repair the losses she had sustained by him.[1]

Long before the final decision of the case, a division of the property, at least in name, had been agreed upon, which was ultimately carried out.

The Marchioness of Hertford had, for her moiety, Drayton Basset in Warwickshire, Pembridge, Earl's Land, Lyon's Hall, Murcuth, Webley, Byford, Bodenham, Fanhope, Ross and Ross Foreign in Herefordshire, Llanthomas in Brecknockshire, estates in Pembroke and Cardigan, Essex House, and a moiety of the barony of Farney, Monaghan.

Sir Robert Shirley had, the Chartley estate, Newcastle under Lyne, the tenements adjoining Essex House, and the other moiety of Farney, with a rentcharge out of the lands of Hafodwyn, Blaenarion, and Penarth, in Cardiganshire.

The executors of the Duchess of Somerset sold Essex House, the Pembrokeshire estates, and Llanthomas, to pay her debts, legacies, and funeral expenses. The other part of her property was bequeathed by her to Thomas Thynne, of Longleat, the husband of her grand-daughter, Lady Frances, daughter of Heneage Finch, second Earl of Win-

[1] From the copy of the petition at Longleat.

chelsea. Thomas Thynne was created Viscount Weymouth in 1682, and was succeeded by his nephew, the ancestor of the Marquis of Bath, the present possessor of these estates. The other moiety has become divided between two branches of the Shirley family, the Earl Ferrers, and Evelyn John Shirley, Esq., of Eatington, Warwickshire.

I trust I have not wearied the reader with this sketch of the manner in which the possessions of the Earls of Essex went to enrich other families. It is not uninteresting to mark the singular accidents by which wealth is occasionally both accumulated and dissipated.

My task is done, and I take my leave of the reader, and of my subject, with one of the epitaphs written for the great monument it had been intended to erect to the memory of the Earl of Essex, but which the events of a revolutionary war soon banished from the memory of men; no line marks the spot beneath which his ashes rest.

Let no rude foot presume to tread,
But with great awe upon this dead,
Lest that his genius rise from hence
And terrify his insolence.
But, reader know, whoe'er thou be,
Here Essex sleeps, whose ancestry
Were famous worthies; all their worth
Was joined in him, and at his birth
The heavenly motions did agree
Their best infusements all should be

Injected in him, that his fame
Might be his heir, and keep his name
Alive on earth, and equalize
His[1], whose resoundeth to the skies.[2]

[1] Achilles.
[2] Vol. 669. f. 10. Public Acts and Orders, British Museum.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

THE State Paper Office contains a volume, "131. Ireland," of the accounts of the Earl of Essex for the half-year from April to November, 1575, audited by Thomas Jenison, the Queen's auditor of accounts, of the most remarkable interest and curiosity. It contains, besides the accounts of the Irish expedition, that of William Barroll, the receiver of the Earl's estates in England. It appears from these, that while the income of the Earl of Essex was about 4900*l.*, his current expenditure was 6500*l.*, besides all warlike stores, provisions, buildings, &c., not included in these accounts.

Some extracts may prove interesting: —

	£	s.	d.
A year's rent of Bugbrook, Northampton -	64	1	4½
Hallingbury, Essex -	72	6	8
Tollesbury, Essex - -	132	13	4
Wakering, Great and Little	133	19	10
Newington, Clifton, Brayfield, Bucks - - -	62	15	6
Cotesbach, Leicestershire -	28	0	0
Bodenham, Hereford -	50	0	0
Keyston, Huntingdon -	47	2	10
Chartley, Stafford - -	120	0	0
Bennington, Hertford -	199	11	6
Sale of forty acres of wood in the Park of Tollesbury, Essex - - -	87	16	0.
From the Earl of Huntingdon, in full payment of the purchase of the manor of Newbold, Leicester - - -	1000	0	0

	£	s.	d.
The contra account is very long and curious:			
For my Lord of Hereford, two plain shirts -	1	10	0
A pair of green velvet garrigascons with gold lace, and a pair of parnescie stockings to the same - - - - -	3	12	0
A tasta hat with a lace - - -	0	11	0
Two pair of garters - - - -	0	6	0
A doublet of canvass, cut, laid with green lace, lined with green taffeta sarsenet - -	0	18	6
Mr. Walter Devereux:			
A coat of popingay green, laid over with lace -	1	1	0
Necessaries for the said Lord of Hereford, Mr. Walter Devereux, and Gabriel Montgomery:			
A dozen handkerchiefs - - - -	1	0	0
A trunk to put all their said apparel in -	0	12	0
Nine pair of Spanish leather shoes - -	0	9	0
A dozen pair of socks - - -	0	4	0
Bedding and furniture for chamber against the Earl his coming to the Court out of Ireland, viz.:			
One bristle tick - - - -	1	12	0
Eleven stone of down - -	4	15	0
Bristles tick ready made - - -	7	16	0
Four score stone of feathers for the same beds, at 4s. the stone - - - -	16	0	0
Six pounds of down for pillowbers - -	0	6	0
One covering of leaves, 16 ells - -	2	2	8
Three coverings of wool silks, 16 ells -	3	5	0
Two large Spanish blankets - - -	1	12	0
Four pair of white blankets - - -	3	2	0
Two fine quilts of carded wool - -	2	2	0
One leather chair - - - -	0	15	0
Two close stools - - - -	0	17	8

	£	s.	d.
A bedstead of walnut-tree - - -	1	14	0
Two pair of coarse sheets - - -	1	4	0
Three dozen napkins - - -	1	11	6
Apparel for the Earl:			
Six shirts whereof one black worked - -	9	12	4
Three handkerchiefs - - - -	5	9	4
Three pair of bands and ruffs - -	4	0	0
Russet satin, 12*s.* 6*d.* per yard			
Black velvet, 15*s.* „			
Jeane damask, 12*s.* 6*d.* „			
Uncut velvet, 1*l.* 1*s.* „			
Black lace double wreathed, 2*s.* per oz.			
Russet and black tuft lace, 3*s.* „			
Carnation stitching silk, 2*s.* „			
Three pair silk garters with parchment lace -	2	1	0
Three dozen gloves - - - -	1	15	4
A velvet hat with a band - - -	1	5	0
Furring a damask gown with black coney, and 10 dozen and seven coney skins to do. -	4	0	9
A pair of pantufles of Spanish leather -	0	3	0
A chain weighing 5¾ oz. at 2*l.* 15*s.* the oz. -	19	4	3
Two pair of gilt spurs - - -	0	16	0
A rapier, girdle, and dagger - - -	1	14	0
A gelding bought at Penkridge fair - -	11	0	0
Two saddles of Spanish leather, whereof one guarded and seated with velvet, with gilded buckles, studs, and other furniture -	9	10	0
Allowance to the Countess of Essex, per annum, for her private expenses - -	200	0	0

From the Irish accounts of wages, victuals, &c.:

	s.	d.	
Wages.—Nich. Malbie, Serjeant Major -	5	0	per diem.
Edw. Goodrich, Scout Master -	3	0	„

Wages.—		s.	d.	
	Thos. Oldfield, Curate Knockfergus	1	0	per diem.
	Fras. Jawdrell, Apothecary	1	0	„
	Wm. Norreys, Captain of 100 horse	4	6	„
	George Devereux, do. 50 horse	3	0	„
	John Norreys, Captain 200 foot	6	0	„
	George Bourchier, do. 100 foot	3	0	„
	Horse soldiers	0	11¾	„
	Foot do.	0	6	„
	Francis Drake, Captain of the Falcon	42	0	per mens.
	Pilot	15	0	„
	Boatswain	11	8	„
	Mariner	6	8	„

	£	s.	d.
Wheat, 102 quarters, cost	125	11	2
Barley or beare, 80 quarters	58	11	8
Beeves, 398	324	5	10
Muttons, 1046	157	11	2
Porkes, 46	19	8	0
Lambs, 172½	8	14	9
Kids, 38	1	16	4½
Sack, 3 butts, 59 gallons	43	12	2
Gascony wine, 6 tuns, 1 gall.	79	10	0
Aquavitæ, 12 gall.	4	0	0
Beer, 32 tons, 3 hhds.	78	9	10
Cheate bread, 639 doz.	34	12	2
Manchets, 130 doz.	9	2	0
Biscuit, 1500 lbs.	10	17	9

There are several items of which the quantities are not given, but the totals, they being for the same period of time, afford curious points of comparison of prices; as —

	£	s.	d.
Butter for the same period, cost - -	50	10	6
Groceries and confectionary - - -	150	9	10
Sauces, as vinegar, salad oil - - -	14	18	9¾
Fruits and herbs - - - -	15	12	1¾
Poultry - - - - -	75	7	8¾
Fresh fish - - - - -	19	9	2½
Suet and neats' tongues - - -	7	12	2
Eggs - - - - -	9	19	1
Milk - - - - -	1	17	3
Soap - - - - -	4	1	6
Salt - - - - -	46	17	9
Coals - - - - -	15	10	10
Wood - - - - -	39	0	0

There is another account by the Auditor, in July, 1573, declaring the provisions for warlike purposes, ships, victuals, necessaries for fortification and ordnance, which at that time had cost 15,154*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, to be equally divided between the Queen and the Earl.

(B.)

(Lansd. MSS. 23. 67.)

Expenses of the Funeral of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex.

	£	s.	d.
Forty men's charge for 46 days, to and for the 21 Nov., at 12*d.* per man, per day - -	92	0	0
Fire, candle, and drink, for them[1] that ward by day, and watch by night - - -	8	0	0

[1] Since this work went to press, I have received an extract from an ancient Welsh MS. styled "Llyfr Silin" (the Book of Silin), for which I am indebted to W. W. L. Wynne, Esq., of Sion, near Oswestry, by which it appears that the body of the Earl of Essex was conveyed through Harlech. The difficulty of such an undertaking as a funeral progress from Holyhead over the Carnarvonshire and Merionethshire Mountains at that period, will account for the long interval between the death and burial of Lord Essex, and the first item in this account probably gives us the time occupied in the journey.

	£	s.	d.
For the charge of three days for 200 persons, to be found honorably in household - -	100	0	0
To be given in alms - - - -	40	0	0
To the church and singing men - -	10	0	0
Forty poor men's gowns - - -	40	0	0
Hire of bays for church, hearse, and street -	10	0	0
Timber frame of the hearse - - -	4	0	0
The heralds and painters - - -	200	0	0
Riding charge of officers going and coming -	40	0	0
Carriage down of all stuff - - -	20	0	0
Wages of thirty gentlemen for half a year, at 6*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* the year - - -	100	0	0
Twenty yeomen for half a year, at 4*l.* the year - - - - -	40	0	0
Charge of finding the office - - -	13	6	8

Black.	£	s.	d.			
Chief mourner's black -	24	0	0			
The Earl and his company's black - - -	40	0	0			
My lady's black - -	50	0	0			
Mr. Vernon and Mr. Devereux	12	0	0			
Other principal mourners' and officers' black, in number 14 -	84	0	0			
Twenty gentlemen mourners, in gowns of 4 yards each, at 8*s.* 4*d.* per yard - - -	53	6	8	405	0	0
The Bishop, 8 yards - -	8	0	0			
One hundred yeoman's coats, at 13*s.* 4*d.* - - -	66	8	4			
Twenty-six gentlemen in cloaks of 3 yards each, at 13*s.* 4*d.* -	52	0	0			
Black for the hearse, 40 yards at 7*s.* - - -	15	0	0			
				£1122	6	8

This charge, considering the value of money, appears enormous, but probably was not so for the funeral of an Earl. The charges of the Earl of Leicester's funeral amounted to 4000*l.*

(C.)

(Lansd. MSS. 23. 66.)

Abstract of the Will of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex.

An imperfect will is in the Prerogative Court of the Diocese of Dublin; in which, dated June 14. 1576, he desired to be buried at the nearest church.

Appoints thirty feoffees, by whom all injuries and damage to be recompensed; to pay debts and legacies, the following lands are devised to them, till the heir be 22 years of age.

Com. Hereford.	The manors of Webley, Lionhales, Moorcourt, and Byford; one garden in Hereford, and one in the parishes of Dilwyn and Pewen, called Hidefields.
Com. Pembroke.	The manors Lantefey, Talbenny, Langoney, Hodgeston, and Mancloughor, and lands in Gildeford.
Com. Brecknock.	The manor of Pipton.
Com. Stafford.	The manors of Chartley, Hukston, Frodeshall, and Gaiton.
Com. Leicester.	The manors of Cotesbach, Shawell, Twycross, and two granges, called Newhouse and Pinnewall.
Com. Middlesex.	Tenements in Long Lane, London.
Com. Warwick and Leicester.	The manor and monastery of Merevale.
Com. Huntingdon.	The manor of Keyston.
Com. Suffolk.	The manors of Bilston, Drinkeston, Shelland, and Louvaines.

Remainder to Robert, Viscount Hereford, and the heirs male of his body; for default of such heirs male, to Walter Devereux, second son, and his heirs male; for default of such heirs, to the heirs male of the body of the said Earl; and for default of such heirs male, to the right heirs of the said Earl for ever.

For jointure and dower to the Countess:

Com. Hertford.	The manor and park of Bennington, and two tenements in Hitchin.
Com. Gloucester.	The manor of Dimmock.
Com. Pembroke.	The manor and seignory of Monkton.
Com. Brecknock.	The manor of Llanthomas.
Com. Essex.	The manors of Oldhall, Bourchier's Hall, in Tollesbury, and the granges called Baker's, Goldanger, and Swaines in Wyvenho.

To the Countess for life, and after her decease to the feoffees, till the heir be 22: remainder as before.

To descend to the Lord Hereford by cause of inheritance without remainder or entail:

Com. Bucks.	The manors of Newington, Clifton, and Brayfield.
Com. Essex.	The manors of Wakering, Little Wakering, Hallingbury Bourchier, the park of Hallingbury, a farm called Motes.
Com. Northampton.	The manor of Bugbrook.
Com. Brecknock.	The manor of Penkelley.
Middlesex.	Lands at Charing Cross, purchased of George Carlton.

The feoffees to have the Earl's leases of the parsonages of Lantefey and Worthem in Pembrokeshire, and Colwich,

Stafford, and the pastures of Utceter Moors, and Mowhed, Stafford, and Strata Florida, Cardigan, till the heir be 22.

To Walter Devereux, second son, were left the manors of Bodenham and Woodhouse, co. Hereford, for life, with remainder to the heir apparent as before.

Legacies.

To the Countess, all plate, jewels, and household stuff which is in her possession.

To the ladies Dorothy and Penelope Devereux for their advancement in marriage, 2000*l.* each, to be paid on their reaching 21 years, or within a year after marriage; in the mean time, 100*l.* a year to each, for their maintenance. If one of them die before payment of the legacy, Walter Deverux to have it; if both die, the second to determine. If Walter Devereux die before he is 22, that legacy also to determine. Walter Devereux to have 50*l.* a year for his education till he is 22.

His brother George Devereux, to enjoy Lantefey, till the conditions agreed between them be executed; afterwards, he and his wife to have a pension of 100*l.* a year. A legacy to his brother of 300*l.*

To his sister Vernon, 100*l.*, and a basin and ewer.

To Edward Waterhouse, 100*l.* for a monument, 200*l.* for other purposes, a scarlet bed with the furniture, and the Earl's picture.

To Gabriel Montgomery, 400 crowns.

To Mrs. Clifford's daughters, 400*l.*

To his servants, a year's wages, 300*l.*, and above the year's wages, 620*l.*

To Captain Malbie, the leases of Lecale.

To Robert Harrison and his wife, and to the longer liver of them, 5*l.* a year.

To Thos. Asheton for his life, 40*l.* a year.

If the Countess refuse the lands assigned her, and claim the benefit of the dower, to forfeit the legacy, the same to accrue to the heir apparent. For administration of all goods not devised, appoints his two sons executors.

The Names of the Feoffees.

Will., Lord Burghley.
Thos., Earl of Sussex.
Henry, Earl of Northumberland.
Edw., Earl of Rutland.
Henry, Earl of Huntingdon.
Anthy., Vict. Montague.
Edwin, Bishop of London.
Robt., Bishop of Winchester.
Arthur, Lord Grey.
Chas., Lord Howard of Effingham.
Sir Francis Knollys.
Sir Jas. Croft.
Fras. Walsingham.
Sir Walter Mildmay.
Sir William Devereux.
Sir Andrew Corbet.
Sir John Savage.
Sir Will. Drury.
Gilbert Gerrard.
Thos. Bromley.
George Bromley.
Robt. Corbet.
George Fetipais.
Edw. Waterhouse.
Richard Broughton.
Thos. Asheton.
Thos. Newport.
John Steadman.
Walter Barroll.
Thos. Rawlins.

In a schedule he appointed his lands in Ireland to be held the same way: the necessary buildings and fortifications to be made under the advice of the Lord Deputy; bequeathed 1000*l.*, or as much more or less, as Lord Burghley and the Earl of Sussex shall think good, to fortify some principal place.

Totals of Debts.

To Her Majesty - - -	£6000
To his creditors - - -	7000
Legacies under the will - -	6420
	£19,420

(D.)

(Lansd. MSS. 25. f. 45.)

The Charge of the Right Honorable Robert Earl of Essex, from the 22nd Sept. 1577, to the Annunciation of our Lady, 1578, disbursed by Thos. Newport and others.

		£	s.	d.
Household charge at Chartley.	In weekly charge of household for the Earl and his servants, from the 22nd Sept. till the 12th Jan., 15 weeks, about 4*l.* the week -	60	0	0
Expense from Chartley to the Court.	Charge of the Earl in his journey from Chartley to London, and from thence to the Court, and his servants during their attendance as appeareth by the accounts of Thomas Newport -	29	17	3
Wages due at Christmas	Robert Wright, schoolmaster for one quarter	5	0	0
	Piliard the Frenchman for the like - -	2	10	0
	Edward Wright, tutor for the like - -	0	13	4
Before the Earl's coming to London.	Apparel bought by Mr. Barroll since the death of the late Earl, and other necessaries for the now Earl - -	15	13	4
Sithence the Earl's coming	Of Thomas Tennant, at the Falcon, Ludgate Hill, a felt hat lined with velvet - -	0	11	0

		£	s.	d.
	Renewing a velvet cap -	0	4	6
	For new lining his hat	0	1	0
	Of Mrs. Coxton in Essex side, four shirts at 10*s.*	2	0	0
	Six handkerchiefs at 20*d.*	0	10	0
	Of Peter Hoxton, milliner of Fleet Bridge, two pairs of socks -	0	1	0
	A pair of hose of race -	1	9	4
Extraordinary charge.	Given to Mrs. West for the Earl's lodging, and some charge defrayed at Somerset House -	2	0	0
	Spent by the Earl in little rewards, play, &c., at his being at Hampton Court -	3	0	0
	Given to the Earl sithence, and to Wright, tutor, to defray sundry trifling charges, and playing money sithence his coming to London	3	0	0
	Disbursed to Wright, tutor, towards his charge in his sickness, by the Earl's commandment -	2	0	0
	For the accidents of armory - - -	0	4	0
	For the seal of arms -	2	5	0
	Washing for the Earl during his abode in London - - -	1	15	0

(Lansd. MSS. 25. f. 46.)

The Parcels which my Lord of Essex bought at his Entrance in the Chamber at Cambridge.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, twenty yards of new green broad sayes	2	16	0
Item, the frame of the south window in the first chamber	0	6	4
For more glass in the same	0	4	0
For forty foot of quarters under the hangings	0	2	0
Paid to Mr. Bird at my entrance for parcels which appertain his proper bill and acquittance	1	0	0
Two casements with hingells in the south window	0	2	6
New hangings in the study of painted cloth	0	16	0
For painting both chamber and study overhead	0	5	0
Shelves in the study	0	1	0
A conveyance into the bed-chamber out of the study	0	2	6
A place making for the trindle bed to draw through the wall	0	1	4
For boarding a place for fuel, and making a light into it	0	6	0
A table in the study	0	3	4
Furniture in the little study	0	1	6
Little irons to hold open the casements with	0	0	8
My part of the door between Mr. Forcet and me	0	3	6
A rest at the chimney	0	0	4
A footstool at the window	0	0	4
Two shelves more in the frame of the study	0	1	0
Item, a lock and three keys to the outward chamber	0	3	4
A table in the bed-chamber	0	2	6
Summa totalis	£7	0	10

Signed, GERVASIUS BABINGTON.

	£	s.	d.
For painted cloths in the chamber, and painting the bed-chamber	1	18	4
For a settle in the chamber	0	8	0
For a great green cloth curtain in the chamber window	0	6	0
For two tables and two forms in the chamber	1	0	0
For curtain-rods in all the windows	0	2	0
For a piece of new painted cloth in the chamber	0	3	0
For iron holding open the casements	0	0	6
For painting the study	0	0	6
For a great desk of shelves for books in the study	0	7	0
For a little window and casements, a shelf with two ledges and hingells in the study	0	7	0
For a lock on the study door	0	1	8
For a green cloth in the study window	0	2	0
For a shelf in the study	0	0	6
For making the door betwixt Mr. Babington and me, my part	0	3	6
For removing the falling door	0	2	0
For a little window in the upper chamber	0	1	0
For mending the boards in the outward chamber	0	0	8
For another key to the outward chamber	0	0	8
	£4	19	4

EDWARD FORCET.

*Defrayed for the Right Honorable the Earl of Essex, from the Feast of St. John the Baptist, A°. Dom*i. 1577.

	£	s.	d.
Five pair of shoes	0	5	0
One pair of winter boots	0	6	0
For my Lord at the salting according to custom	0	7	0
For arrows for my Lord	0	2	6
For three frames of wainscot for maps	0	4	6

	£	s.	d.
For rushes and dressing of the chamber - -	0	4	0
For horsehire for those that attended on my Lord at several times - - - - -	0	19	0
His Lordship's commons for the quarter - -	2	14	0
His Lordship's sizing do. - - -	1	15	0
His Lordship's breakfast do. - - -	1	3	0
Meat on feasting nights and times extraordinary	1	5	0
To the laundress for his washing - -	0	6	8
The same for Mr. Montgomery - - -	0	3	4
For my Lord to the chief reader - -	0	2	0
For the Book of Johan. Bodm. de politica -	0	5	0
For Ramus' logic with a commentary - -	0	1	8
For Ramus on Tully's orations - - -	0	4	0
For Sturmius de elocutione - - -	0	4	0
For Questiones Bezæ theologicæ - -	0	1	8
For Grimalius de optimo senatore - -	0	2	4
For Isocrates in Greek - - - -	0	4	0
For the Chronicles of Holinshed - -	1	6	0
For a standing desk for my Lord his study -	0	6	0
For amending the glass windows and casements -	0	3	0
To the barber for his Lordship's trimming -	0	2	0
For a broad riding hat - - - -	0	8	0
For the carriage of his Lordship's trunk, with his apparel from London to Cambridge - -	0	2	4
For two dozen of trenchers - - -	0	0	10
For a load of wood and the cutting of the same -	0	5	10
For a load of coals - -	0	18	0
For ink and quills - - - -	0	0	6
For the carriage of my Lord, his stuff from Cambridge to Keyston - - - -	0	2	4
For the board of his Lordship's two servants in the town for half a year - - -	9	0	0

(Lansd. MSS. 25. f. 52.)

The Charge of the Earl of Essex for One whole Year, from the 11th January, 1577, to the 16th January, 1578, as follows.

	£	s.	d.
His diet and his company before his going to Cambridge for seventeen weeks, ending 17th May, 1577, at 4*l.* the week - - -	68	0	0
Their diet at Mr. Clifford's for seventeen weeks, ending 23rd January, 1578, at 33*s.* 4*d.* -	28	6	8
His servants' wages before going to Cambridge and other extraordinary necessaries - -	17	2	8
Apparel made at London this year - -	88	0	3
Ready money delivered to Mr. Wright his tutor to be by him employed for the Earl - -	117	0	0
Books bought for the Earl - - -	7	11	0
Linen bought for the Earl's chamber - -	9	0	0
Ready money delivered to the Earl's own hand in the said time - - - -	17	13	4
	£352	14	7

(Lansd. MSS. 25. f. 48.)

Expense for my Lord of Essex his Commons, and his People, for Eight Days.

			£	s.	d.
Friday night. —	Eggs	2d	0	1	4
	Butter	6d			
	Plaice	6d			
Saturday, dinner. —	Mutton	9d	0	2	11
	Butter	8d			
	Eggs	2d			
	Mackerel	5d			
	Plaice	5d			
	Chicken	6d			

			£	s.	d.
Supper. —	Eggs	2d			
	Mackerel	4d			
	Mutton	12d	0	2	6
	Rabbits	8d			
	Conger	4d			
Sunday, dinner. —	Mutton	12d			
	Beef	12d	0	2	0
Supper. —	Veal	18d			
	Lamb	16d			
	Pigeons	12d	0	4	6
	Rabbits	8d			
Monday, dinner. —	Mutton	2s 0d			
	Lamb	1 2	0	3	2
Supper. —	Mutton	1 4			
	Lamb	1 4	0	2	8
Tuesday, dinner. —	Beef	2 6			
	Mutton	1 0	0	3	6
Supper. —	Mutton	0 10			
	Lamb	0 11	0	2	7
	Rabbits	0 10			
Wednesday, dinner. —	Mutton	1 2			
	Eggs	0 4			
	Mackerel	0 4	0	2	1
	Butter	0 3			
Supper. —	Mutton	0 8			
	Plaice	0 6	0	1	2
Thursday, dinner. —	Mutton	2 0			
	Beef	2 4	0	4	4
Supper. —	Veal	1 4			
	Mutton	1 9	0	3	1
Friday, dinner. —	Mutton		0	2	0

		£	s.	d.
For the whole week.—Bread	- -	0	6	10
Drink	- -	0	5	2
Coals	- -	0	5	8
Wood	- -	0	1	4
Candles	- -	0	0	11
Total	- -	£2	15	9

(Lansd. MSS. 25. f. 55.)

A Tailor's Bill at Easter, 1577.

	£	s.	d.
For my Lord and Mr. Japarell's doublets, one ell of canvass - - - - -	0	1	0
1¾ oz. of lace for the same doublets - -	0	3	6
5 doz. of buttons for the same, *5d.* per doz. -	0	2	1
¾lb. of bombast for the same - - -	0	1	0
2 oz. of lace - - - - -	0	4	0
Linen linings for them two pair of hose -	0	3	4
2½ yards of cotton for the said hose - -	0	1	8
2 oz. of silk for two doublets, and 2 cloths and hose	0	3	8
For pinching and cutting of my Lord's doublet and hose - - - - -	0	1	6
For making my Lord's doublet - - -	0	3	0
For making of his L.'s hose - - -	0	5	0
For making of his L.'s cloak - - -	0	7	0
For making of Mr. Japarell's doublet, hose, and cloak - - - - -	0	8	0
	£2	4	9

(E.)

Instructions and Articles set down by us Robert Earl of Essex, and Charles Lord Howard, High Admiral of England, Generals of Her Majesty's forces in this action, both at sea and land, to be observed by every Captain and Chief Officer of the navy, as they will answer it at their perils; and that every ship's Company may not be ignorant thereof, we do hereby straightly charge and command all Captains to give order that at service time they be openly read twice every week. — (S. P. O.)

In primis, that especial care be taken to serve God by using of common prayer every day twice except urgent cause enforce the contrary; and that no man, soldier, or other mariner do dispute of matters of religion unless it be to be resolved of some doubts, and in such case that he confer with the minister of the army, for it is not fit that unlearned men should openly argue of so high and mystical matters; and if any person shall forget himself and his duty herein, he shall upon knowledge thereof receive open punishment to his shame, and after be banished the army; and if any shall hear it, and not reveal it to the General or to his Captain, or to some other especial officer, whereby the knowledge thereof may come to the General, he shall likewise receive punishment, and be banished the army.

Item, to forbid swearing, brawling and dicing, and such like disorders as may breed contentions and discords in the ships; wherein, for avoiding God's displeasure, and all the inconveniences that come thereof, picking and stealing shall be severely punished, and if the fault be great, the General shall be acquainted therewith, that martial law may be inflicted upon the offenders. Great care to be taken to preserve victuals, and to observe such orders therein as shall be given by particular directions from the General, and that every

captain of each ship receive an account once a week how his victuals are spent, and what remains, that their provisions may be lengthened by adding more men to a mess in time.

All persons whatsoever, within any ship, shall come to the ordinary services of the ship without contradiction.

Special charge to be given for avoiding the danger of fire, and that no candle be carried in any ship without a lanthorn, which, if any person shall disobey, he shall be severely punished; and if any chance of fire, or other dangers, which God forbid, should happen to any ship, the others near unto her, shall by their boats and all other their best means, seek to help and relieve them.

The powder shall be carefully preserved from spoil and waste, without which there cannot be undertaken any great service.

Order and especial charge to be given that the topmasts be favoured, and the heads of the masts, and that care be had not to bear too high when the ship goeth by the wind, and especially in a head sea, for the spoil of the masts may greatly hinder and endanger the enterprizes, which otherwise, with God's help, shall be performed with safety.

All such as are in the ships under government, or those that have charge of a squadron, shall, as near as in them lieth, keep together, and not for chase of other ships, or any other cause, go out of the squadron, but by the commandment of the Admiral of that squadron, unless the General shall send for them, and by message appointeth them to any service, or that by weather they shall be separated, and then as they may they shall endeavour to repair to the place appointed by such instructions as shall be set down. And if there be any sail perceived of any of the ships of any squadron, it shall be lawful for the next ship having the wind to give chase, the ship descried being to the windward, and the like of any that shall be nearest to bear up if the sail be descried to the leeward; but because upon

every chase all will be apt to follow, and so be led away upon every occasion from the fleet, it shall not be lawful for any second ship to follow any chase, one having undertaken the same, unless the Admiral of the squadron hang out two flags, one over another; if it be necessary that three do follow, then shall the General or Admiral of the squadron hang out three flags one over the other, which shall be warrant for three of the next or fittest to follow, as aforesaid: but if the Admiral bear up and come upon the wind himself, then may all the squadrons give chase and follow, which if it seem convenient to the Generals of the army to hang out the flag of Council, the same shall be a warning that the chase is misliked, and that then all give over and keep their course.

Every ship shall, towards the evening, seek to come as near as conveniently she may to speak to the Admiral of the squadron, to know his pleasure, and what course he will keep; and that the Admiral of the squadron do bear up or stand upon a wind to speak with the General, if conveniently he may, the rest of the squadrons may, notwithstanding, keep their course and distance; and if the Admiral of the squadron cannot recover the head of this fleet before night, the rest shall then follow the light of the Vice-Admiral of the said squadron.

That every squadron keep a good breadth one from another, and that the squadrons do in themselves keep a reasonable breadth one from another, that they fall not foul one of another, whereby danger may grow; and that the great ships have especial regard not to calm the smaller ships; and if any of those smaller ships shall negligently bring themselves in danger of the greater ships, the Captain and Master especially shall be severely punished; and further, that either the Admiral or the Rear-Admiral of the squadron be always in the rearward of his fleet.

When there is a flag of council of the red cross out in the

General's ship, half mast high against the main mizen, then the Captains and Masters of every ship shall repair on board that ship where the flag is so hanged out; and when the flag of arms shall be displayed, then shall the selected company only come on board.

If a ship happen to spring a mast, to fall into a leak, or such mischance, which God forbid, a piece shall be shot off,— if it be in the night, two pieces,— and bear two great lights, one a man's height and a half above another.

Every Captain and Master of the fleet shall have especial regard that no contention be found betwixt the mariners and soldiers; and in time of sickness, if any do happen among them, such good things as are to be had, and needful for them, to be distributed unto them in such convenient sort as may be.

If any shall happen to lose company, the token shall be to strike and hoist the main topsail twice; if it be foul weather, then to hoist and strike the main mizen twice, or as often as they list, and to wear the white pendant on the mizen yard; and if any shall lose the company of the General, he shall find him at such place as he shall have instructions for at the sea.

If in chasing of any ships, she happen to be fetched up, if she be in amity with Her Majesty, she shall be entreated, and brought to the General; but if she be an enemy, there shall be made no spoil of the goods in her, but the Captain and Master of her to be taken on board, and put into her some sufficient persons to bring her forthwith unto the General, or such as shall be assigned, that order may be taken what shall be done with her. When any shall be appointed to give chase, and any enemy's ship surprised that shall have treasure or merchandise of value in her, shall take great care that those commodities in her be preserved; in respect whereof, and for your loyal and faithful service to be done in

this journey, Her Majesty's bounty, favour, and pleasure is, that a third part of that which shall be taken from the enemy, so it be not King's treasure, jewels, or a carrick, shall be employed to the commodity and benefit of the whole company, over and above his ordinary wages, according to his desert.

No Captain or Master shall suffer any spoil to be made aboard any ship or bark that shall be taken of them or any of their companies, upon pain to be displaced of their offices, or some great punishment, according to the offence given, because the rest of the company have interest in everything that shall be taken; therefore the value of every such thing, be it of great or small importance, must especially be regarded and considered of: and whatsoever soldier or mariner obeyeth not accordingly, shall be spoiled of that which he hath gotten, and his person extremely punished.

Whosoever shall enter on board of any ship, he shall give account to those things which shall be wanting and taken out of her, for that no other company shall board her, unless there shall be need of their help. If we happen to meet with any great fleet, supposed to be the army of the King of Spain, you shall yourself endeavour to come as near to your Generals, or to the Admiral of your squadron, or, in our absence, to the Vice-Admiral or Rear-Admiral of the fleet, to know what you shall be directed unto, as you shall answer it at the peril of your lives.

The watch shall be set every night at eight of the clock, either by trumpet or drum, and singing the Lord's Prayer, some of the Psalms of David, or clearing the glass; and after the watch is set, no trumpet or drum shall be heard, or any piece whatever shall be shot off, without such great cause be offered as is before signified, or such like.

You are to take especial care of your watch by night, and that the soldiers do watch well in harbour, as at the seas, one

third part of them every night; and that there be a captain of the watch appointed, who shall take care that no fire or light be suffered, but only such candles in lanthorns as are allowed to the quarter masters, or otherwise upon necessity; and that in harbour, a certain number be appointed to keep diligent watch in the forecastle, or beak head of the ship, for fear of cutting of cables, which is a practice much used in hot countries.

If at any time the Generals have occasion to give chase, and that order be given to any other ship to carry their flags until their return unto the fleet, all the other ships shall follow the flag in whatsoever ship it be placed; and that whatsoever ship may be next, the same shall take up your General's boats when we give chase, or the boats of any Admirals of squadrons, or others whatsoever.

No man upon pain of death shall presume to land in any country until his return into England, without order from us the Generals, or such as we shall appoint to command.

No person shall depart out of the ship where he is placed, without special leave of his Captain; and no Captain or Master shall receive any such person without the knowledge of us the Generals, or such as we shall appoint.

In fogs, if any happen when your ships are becalmed, you shall cause some noise to be made by drum, by trumpet, by shooting of a musket or caliver now and then, or by some other like means, that by hearing you to be near, one may take heed lest he fall foul of another.

No person whatsoever shall dare to strike the Captain, Lieutenant, Master, or other officer, on pain of death; and furthermore, whatsoever he shall be that shall strike any inferior person, he shall receive punishment according to the offence given, be it by death or otherwise.

There shall be no report or talk raised in the fleet, wherein any officer or gentleman in the same may be touched in repu-

tation or matter of importance spoken without his author, who shall be severely punished, as an evil member amongst us.

(F.)

A Device made by the Earl of Essex for the Entertainment of the Queen.

THE SQUIRE'S SPEECH.

I have brought before your Majesty two wanderers, the one, as it should seem, some Indian youth, the other white of complexion and expert in language: to me they will neither give account whence they come, nor whither they would; but of me at the first acquaintance they have curiously inquired of the state of the country, of the manner of the government, of the disposition of the people, and specially of many circumstances of your Majesty's person; which discovery of their high conceit, aiming directly at yourself, hath made me bring them into your Highness' presence, that they make their purgation to yourself.

THE ATTENDANT OR CONDUCTOR TO THE INDIAN PRINCE.

Excellent Queen, in the most retired part of that division which those of Europe call the West Indies, near unto the fountain of the great river of the Amazons, there governeth at this day a mighty monarch, whose rare happiness in all things else is only eclipsed in the calamity of his son, this young Prince, who was born blind. This only tax and imposition hath fortune set upon the father's felicity, and nature laid upon the son's perfections; for this want removed, never was there, in that royal line, a spark of that expectation, so lovely of person, so active of body, and so full of spirit. But yet no one thing hath so much affected both his father and his people towards him, as an ancient prophecy, that it should be he that should expel the Castillians, a nation of strangers, which as a scourge hath wound itself about the body of that

continent, though it hath not pierced near the heart thereof. This fatal glory, added to his other excellency, hath made the king his father to visit his temples with continual sacrifices, gifts, and observances, to solicit his son's cure supernaturally; and at last, this present year, out of one of the holiest vaults, was delivered to him an oracle in these words:

Seated between the Old World and the New,
A land there is no other land may touch,
Where reigns a Queen in peace and honor true;
Stories or fables do describe no such.
Never did Atlas such a burthen bear,
As she, in holding up the world oppress;
Supplying with her virtue, every where,
Weakness of friends, errors of servants best.
No nation breeds a warmer blow for war,
And yet she calms them with her majesty;
No age hath ever wit refined so far,
And yet she calms them by her policy:
To her thy son must make his sacrifice,
If he will have the morning of his eyes.

This oracle hath been both our direction hitherto, and the cause of our wearisome pilgrimage; we do now humbly beseech your Majesty, that we may make experience whether we be at the end of our journey or not. . . .

Your Majesty's sacred presence hath wrought the strangest renovation that ever was in the world. You have here before you seemly Love, a Prince indeed, but of greater territories than all the Indies; armed after the Indian manner with bow and arrows, and when he is in his ordinary habit, an Indian naked, or attired with feathers, though now for comeliness clad. To procure his pardon for the stratagem he hath used, and to show his thankfulness for his sight which he hath by you received, he presents your Majesty with all that is his;

his gift and property to be ever young; his range of liberty to fly from one to another; his bow and arrows to wound when it pleaseth you; and withal humbly desireth that though Philantia hath hitherto so prevailed with your Majesty, as you would never accept of him while he was an imperfect piece, yet now he is accomplished by your Majesty's grace and means, that you will vouchsafe him entertainment. For all the challenge that ever hath been made to love or his bond hath been, if it be rightly considered, only to his want of eyesight. Lovers are charged to aspire too high; it is as the poor dove, which, when her eyes are sealed, still mounteth up into the air. They are charged with descending too low; it is as the poor mole, which, seeing not the clearness of the air, diveth into the darkness of the earth. They are sometimes charged with presuming too far; it is as the blind man, who looketh in humanity that any seeing man should give him way. They are accused sometimes to be timorous; it is as the blind stalks and lifts high where the way is smooth. They are taxed to be credulous; why, the blind are ever led. They are said at other times to be incredulous; the blind must feel that which sufficeth another to see. How can they know times justly, that go by the clock and not by the sun? And how can they know measure, that see as well a mote as a beam? This makes poor lovers all as blind horses, ever going round about in a wheel; and this makes them ever unfortunate, for when blind love leads blind fortune, how can they keep out of the ditch? But now that Love hath gotten possession of his sight, there can be no error in policy or dignity to receive him. Nay, Philantia herself will subscribe to his admission; then your Majesty shall first see your own invaluable value, and thereby discern that the favours you vouchsafe, are pure gifts and no exchanges. And if any be so happy as to have his affection accepted, yet your prerogative is such as they stand bound, and your Majesty is free. Then shall

your Majesty read the conditions of every pretender, who it is that cometh manned out by the plots and policies of others; and who cometh led only by his own star, who is sent in unto you by the frowns of fortune, to have some commendation from you to her again, and who both left a favourable fortune when he came to you, and resolves never to establish a fortune, because he will wholly depend upon you; who seeks your favour to the end he may tread upon others, and who enjoys all others' favours to be trodden on by you; who offereth gold, incense, and myrrh, and who but the meanest of the folks, or a cruise of oil. Your Majesty shall obtain the window into hearts of which the ancients speak; thereby you shall discern protestation from fulness of heart, ceremonies and fashions from a habit of mind that can do no other, affection from affection. Your Majesty shall see the true proportion of your own favours, so as you may deliver them forth by measure, that they neither cause surfeit or faintness, and take as just a tribute of your commandments as you vouchsafe an imparting of your favours, and so keep them as well in breath and exercise, as in strength and in heart. And to conclude, your Majesty may be mindful of that which the poet saith was never granted, Amare et sapere. And you honest squire, that have conducted us, carry your master this message from seemly Love, as the first fruit of his sight. Let him consider whom he serves, and first of all to seek to dignify himself in worth and merit. For it is not a small piece of wood, though never so well kindled, that will make a great fire. Let him add to his merit diligence and application; for it is not a dead fire, though never so great, but a fire continually blown, that will melt hard metal. Let him not build too much upon remembrance of griefs or contentments past; it is the fault of a blind man to have too good a memory: let him choose expertly his seasons and opportunities; it is a blind man's case not to know night from day: let him dissemble unkindness

and discouragements; for it is no blind man's part willingly not to see. And to conclude, since in his blindness he has chanced so well as to fix his affections in the most excellent place, let him now by his sight find out the most ready way. And so squire for guiding us the right way, we have taught your master part of his.

(G.)

The true manner and form of the proceeding to the funeral of the Right Honble. Robert, Earl of Essex and Ewe, Viscount Hereford and Bourchier, Baron of Ferrers of Chartley, Bourchier, and Lovaine, on the 22nd October, 1646: —

Five regiments of the Trained Bands lined both sides of the way, from Essex House to Westminster Abbey.

A regiment of horse.

The Marshal of the City and his men.

Servants, two and two.

Four regiments of foot, trailing their pikes; the musketeers in a funeral posture, the drums covered with black, the fifes having a banner bearing the Earl's arms.

Field Officers and Captains, two and two, 360 in number; Sir William Waller bringing up the rear, and trailing a pike.

Drums, fifes, and trumpets.

The Earl's standard.

The Earl's servants.

The Earl's chaplains.

Drums, fifes, and trumpets.

The guidon of the Earl.

One of his horses, covered with black cloth, adorned and garnished with plumes, shafferons, and escocheons of his Lordship's arms.

Drums, fifes, and trumpets.

The banner of Lovaine.
A horse adorned as before, with the arms of Lovaine.
Officers of the five regiments lining the way.
Drums, fifes, and trumpets.
The banner of Bourchier.
A horse as before, with the arms of Bourchier.
Fifty Colonels and Field Officers in mourning, who had served under his immediate command.
Drums, fifes, and trumpets.
The banner of Ferrers.
A horse as before, with the arms of Ferrers.
Knights.
Baronets.
Younger sons of noblemen.
Comptroller, Steward, Treasurer, of the late Earl's household.
Trumpets.
The great banner of the arms of the Earl of Essex, bearing sixteen quarters.
Cheval de deuil, or chief horse of mourning, covered with black velvet, adorned with the quartered coats, led by the Yeoman of the Horse.
The preacher, Master Vynes.
Bluemantle Pursuivant, with the helm and crest.
Rougedragon, with the spurs.
Portcullis, with the gauntlets.
York Herald, with the sword.
Norroy K. of Arms, with the target.
Clarencieux, with the coat of arms.

The effigies of his Lordship's person, in his robes, his Earl's coronet on his head, in soldier's apparel, a General's leading staff in his hand, was drawn in an open chariot of black velvet, with six horses covered with black velvet to the ground, adorned and garnished with plumes, shaffcrons, escocheons, and compartments of his Lordship's arms. Master

Pudsey, gentleman of his L. chamber, sitting at the feet, each horse led by a groom.

Supporters of the Pall.

Henry Howard, Esq., 2nd son of the late Earl of Suffolk.	Chas. Rich, Esq., 2nd son of the Earl of Warwick.
Denzil Holles, Esq., 2nd son of the Earl of Clare.	Colonel Sydney, 2nd son of the Earl of Leicester.
George Montague, Esq., 2nd son of the Earl of Manchester.	Thos. Sheffield, Esq., 2nd son of the Earl of Mulgrave.

The following commanders and persons of quality, bearing pieces of armour, were appointed to go in rank with the supporters; and the bearers of the bannerols, in like manner next to the armour bearers; but the multitude of people, and the foulness of the street, forced them out of their places: —

Sir Wm. Balfour, helm and plume.	Sir John Meyrick, the gorget.
Sir Ph. Stapleton, vambrace and pauldron dexter,	Maj. Gen. Skippon, vambrace and pauldron sinister.
Col. Jas. Sheffield, the breast.	Maj. Gen. Browne, the back.
Col. Davies, the gauntlets.	Col. Graves, the taces.

The Bannerols.

Devereux. Ferrers. Bourchier. Lovaine.	Borne by Leicester Devereux, eldest son of Visct. Hereford.
Devereux and Ferrers impaled.	Sir Anty. St. John, Baronet.
Devereux and Marbury, imp.	Master Walter Devereux, 2nd son of Visct. Hereford.
Devereux and Bourchier.	Sir Jno. Botiller.

Devereux and Walsingham.	Borne by Nich. Leake, eldest son of Lord Danicourt.
Devereux and Knollys.	Sir Thos. Essex, Bart.
Devereux and Hastings.	Sir Wm. Lewis, Bart.
Devereux and Grey.	Col. Robt. Hammond.

Garter K. of Arms, with a Gent. Usher on his left hand, bareheaded.

Chief Mourner,
Walter, Viscount Hereford,
his train borne by Master Garret, assisted by Nicholas Devereux.

Eight assistants to Chief Mourner, viz. : —

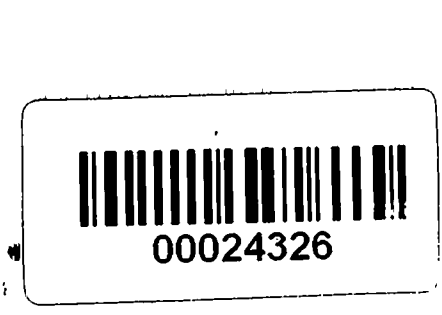
Earl of Northumberland.	Earl of Holland.
Earl of Pembroke.	Lord Lisle.
Earl of Suffolk.	Sir R. Shirley.
Earl of Warwick.	Oliver St. John.

The Horse of Honor, led by the Gentleman of the Horse, with a groom to hold him by the head.
Black Rod, with a Gent. Usher on his left hand, bareheaded.
The Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers.
The House of Peers.
Serjeant of the House of Commons, with a Gent. Usher, bareheaded.
The Speaker.
The House of Commons, three abreast.
John Glynn, Recorder of London.
The Aldermen, two and two.
Committee of Militia of London.
Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines.
The Assembly of Divines.
A party of fifty horse.

As soon as the funeral sermon, preached by Mr. Vynes, was ended, the officers of his L. household had broken their white staves, and the trumpets had sounded, according to custom at such solemn funerals, order was given for the great bell of St. Margaret's to toll thrice. This gave signal to a gentleman on the highest tower of the Abbey, who was provided with a flag for the day, and a great globe lanthorn for the night, with which, it being then seven o'clock, he gave notice to the Lord Mayor's Stone Fort at Southwark, to fire one great piece of ordnance: this warning piece gave notice to Vauxhall Fort; and so the Redoubt, Blockhouses, Tothill Fort and the rest, all round the lines of communication, fired in turn, ending where they began, at the Stone Fort. After this, the regiment of horse, drawn up in the Abbey church-yard, gave a volley with their pistols, which was succeeded by a volley from all the nine regiments, from the Abbey to Essex House. The firing was repeated three times throughout, and closed the ceremony.

THE END.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW
New-street-Square.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